S. HRG. 100-617

VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

S. 2042

WITHDRAWN
SHIPPING LIST# 88-349-P

TO AUTHORIZE THE VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL PROJECT, INC., TO CONSTRUCT A STATUE AT THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL IN HONOR AND RECOGNITION OF THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES WHO SERVED IN THE VIETNAM CONFLICT

FEBRUARY 23, 1988

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VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1988

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS,
NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS,
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:10 p.m., in room SD-366, Dirksen Senate Office building, Hon. Dale Bumpers presiding.

Senator BUMPERS. The subcommittee will come to order.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. DALE BUMPERS, U.S. SENATOR FROM ARKANSAS

Senator BUMPERS. In the summer of 1980, after a great deal of controversy, Congress passed legislation which authorized the building of a memorial to commemorate Vietnam veterans. Public Law 96-297 provided that the memorial would be built "in honor and recognition of the men and women of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in Vietnam."

Late that same year a competition for the design of the memorial was won by a young architectural student, Maya Lin. It called for the names of 58,000 men and women who were killed in the war to be etched into two 250 foot slabs of polished black granite which would intersect at an obtuse angle. The ten foot walls of the memorial would be imbedded beneath the ground.

The memorial design became a source of controversy, and the design was ultimately altered. In the fall of 1982, the original walls of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial were completed and dedicated. Two years later, Frederick Hart's statue of three soldiers and the flag pole were added nearby.

Since that time, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial has attracted over 20 million visitors, few of whom left without being touched by its moving simplicity and the contemplative mood it engenders.

But controversy surrounding the design of the memorial has continued. There are those who argue that the memorial is not complete and does not adequately represent all those who served in Vietnam.

The purpose of the hearing today before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests is to hear testimony on S. 2042, a bill to authorize the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc., to construct a statue within the 2.2 acre Vietnam Veterans Memorial site in honor and recognition of the women of the United States who served in the Vietnam war.

Approximately 10,000 women served in Vietnam. The names of eight who died are included on the memorial walls. In the hundreds of calls and letters I have received on this issue, not one has suggested that the role that women played in Vietnam was not significant.

However, opinion differs over the most appropriate way to honor these women. There are those who feel that the current design of the memorial incorporates the contribution of all who served in the war, and that alteration of that design would significantly detract from the memorial. They worry that the project will open the door to other proposals for additions to or perhaps deletions from the Vietnam Memorial. Others argue that the Vietnam Memorial is currently incomplete without more directly recognizing the role that women played in that conflict.

This project has also raised the broader issue of who has the authority for significantly altering existing memorials. The Commemorative Works Act passed by Congress last session is clear in its intent that only Congress can authorize memorials on Federal lands in the District of Columbia and its environs. The Act carefully defines a process for design approval that includes the Fine Arts Commission and the National Capital Planning Commission.

I welcome all the witnesses who have come to testify today. I understand that there are strong sentiments and strong arguments on all sides of the issue, and I look forward to your testimony. While recognizing the complexity of the issues involved, I would ask, if at all possible, that you summarize your oral statements so that time will be allowed for questions and all the witnesses will have an opportunity to speak.

The hearing record will remain open for two weeks from today to receive additional testimony.

I am very pleased to have as our lead-off witness a co-author of the bill with another Member of Congress, Senator Durenberger of Minnesota.

Senator Durenberger, we are honored to have you, and please proceed.

[The text of S. 2042 follows:]

II

100TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 2042

To authorize the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc., to construct a statue at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in honor and recognition of the women of the United States who served in the Vietnam conflict.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 4 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 2), 1988

Mr. DURENBERGER (for himself, Mr. CRANSTON, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. DOLE, Mr. BYRD, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. CHILES, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. DIXON, Mr. FORD, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. HATCH, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KERRY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. PELL, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. QUAYLE, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. ROTH, Mr. SANFORD, Mr. SHELBY, Mr. SIMON, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. WEICKER, and Mr. WIRTH) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources

---

A BILL

To authorize the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc., to construct a statue at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in honor and recognition of the women of the United States who served in the Vietnam conflict.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. AUTHORITY FOR CONSTRUCTION OF A STATUE HONORING WOMEN WHO SERVED IN THE VIET-

NAM CONFLICT.—(a) Subject to subsections (b) and (c), the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc., a nonprofit corporation authorized to operate in the District of Columbia, is authorized to construct a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran on public grounds within the 2.2 acre Vietnam Veterans Memorial site in the District of Columbia in honor and recognition of the women of the United States who served in the Vietnam conflict.

(b)(1) The Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc., and the Veterans' Memorial Fund, Inc., is authorized and directed to select, with the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, a suitable site for the statue within the 2.2 acre Vietnam Veterans Memorial site in the District of Columbia.

(2) The design and plans for the statue shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the Commission of Fine Arts, and the National Capital Planning Commission. Not later than thirty days after the date of the enactment of this section, the Secretary of the Interior shall decide whether or not to approve the design and plans and, if the Secretary approves them or takes no action to approve or disapprove them (in which case his approval shall be deemed to have been given), shall submit the design and plans to each of the Commissions forthwith. If either Commission fails

to report its approval of or specific objection to such design and plans within ninety days after the submission of the plans, the approval of the Commission in question shall be deemed to be given.

(3) Neither the United States nor the District of Columbia shall be put to any expense in the construction of the statue.

(c) The authority conferred pursuant to this section shall lapse unless (1) the construction of the statue is commenced within five years from the date of the enactment of this section, and (2) prior to groundbreaking for actual construction on the site, funds are certified available in an amount sufficient in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior, based upon the approved design and plans for the statue, to ensure completion of the construction of the statue.

(d) The maintenance and care of the statue constructed under the provisions of this section shall be the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 2. It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) it is most fitting and appropriate that this statue in honor and recognition of the women of the United States who served in the Vietnam conflict be constructed at the site of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial to help complete the process of recognition and healing, for the men and women of the Armed Forces

of the United States who served in the Vietnam conflict, that was undertaken with the establishment of the Memorial;

(2) the addition of the statue is well within the scope, purpose, and intent of the law, Public Law 96–297, authorizing the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., to establish the Memorial and could and should be undertaken pursuant to that law without the need for the enactment of this Act;

(3) the Secretary and each of the Commissions should, in evaluating the plan and design for the statue, give weighty consideration to the sense of the Congress expressed in this section that a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran should be constructed at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site; and

(4) after the addition of a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial will be complete, and no further additions to the site should be authorized or undertaken.

STATEMENT OF HON. DAVE DURENBERGER, U.S. SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA

Senator DURENBERGER. Mr. Chairman and Senator Murkowski, I thank you for the chance to begin the testimony today on the proposed Vietnam Women's Memorial project, and I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the objectivity of that statement.

The legislation before you today, S. 2042, was introduced by Senator Cranston and myself on February 4, 1988. Currently it has 52 co-sponsors, including eight members of the subcommittee. S. 2042 authorizes the construction of a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran in our nation's Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The legislation would complete the mandate of Public Law 96–297, to honor and recognize, and I quote, "the men and women of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Vietnam war."

I do not need to tell the members of this committee about the power of the existing memorial in Constitution Gardens, nor about the foresight of its creators. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is now the most visited site in Washington, D.C. Like the millions that have visited the memorial, I have been touched by its grace and its awe. This moving memorial did not spring from the ground. The existence of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a tribute to the selfless dedication of a small group of men who formed the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Jack Wheeler, Jan Scruggs, Bob Doubek and others. At great personal cost, the fund faced strong opposition, endured tremendous controversy, and pursued the dream of honoring the men and the women who fought in the most divisive conflict of the century.

We all know the fund ultimately prevailed in their efforts, but only after a series of seemingly insurmountable hurdles, and only with the help of a number of Senators, John Warner, Charles "Mac" Mathias, Dale Bumpers, and Bob Dole. The story of that earlier struggle will be the subject of an NBC television movie to be aired on May 22 of this year.

The struggle to recognize Americans who served in Vietnam is almost over, and it will be over when we complete the honor to the men and women who served in Vietnam. Donna Marie Boulay, Diane Evans and Jerry Bender formed the Vietnam Women's Memorial project in 1984 with the goal of educating America about the contributions of women and honoring those contributions by erecting a statue of a female veteran at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund supported the concept. All major veterans groups endorsed the proposal. Grass roots support from throughout the nation was expressed. Secretary Don Hodel felt that the original authorization, Public Law 96–297, was adequate authority to complete the memorial with a woman's statue.

In spite of this broad and deep support, which included many Members of Congress, on October 22, 1987 the Commission of Fine Arts voted against the proposal. In the wake of that rejection, I introduced legislation that would have removed the Commission of Fine Arts' ability to veto the project. That legislation had 36 co-sponsors. Our colleague Alan Cranston talked me into the modifica-

tion which is before you, and you, Mr. Chairman, among others, talked both of us into not offering it as an amendment to the Continuing Resolution in December of 1987 in order that the hearings could be held which are being held today before the Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

S. 2042 lays out an approval process fully consistent with Public Law 99-652, the Commemorative Works Act, requiring the Secretary of Interior, the Commission of Fine Arts, and the National Capital Planning Commission to grant formal approval to the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project. S. 2042 follows the identical procedure followed for the original Vietnam Memorial. I hope that the Commission of Fine Arts will see how deeply Americans feel about this proposal and play a constructive role in making the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project a reality.

We as lawmakers must consider the fine points of a statutory approval process, but S. 2042 is not simply about laying out timetables and approval process. It is really about recognition and honor, and it is about grief and pain and about reconciliation and about hope. A representational work of art honoring female Vietnam veterans is an appropriate and an overdue symbol of this nation's gratitude for the sacrifices and the contributions of 10,000 women who served in Vietnam.

Some have argued that this proposal would open the floodgates for statues of everything from subgroups to scout dogs. I want the record to show very clearly that the sponsors of S. 2042 consider this statue a fitting way to complete the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and language in the bill before you expresses the sense of Congress on this point. Senator Cranston and I would support any effort by this committee to make that language stronger.

After I became involved, Mr. Chairman, in supporting this project, I began to receive mail from Vietnam veterans across the country supporting the proposal. Many who wrote expressed a theme that I find particularly compelling. They said that they would not be alive today if it were not for the women who served so ably in Vietnam. I think we all know that the wall would have had many more names if not for the heroism, the commitment and the bravery of American women in Vietnam.

I was provided a new form of petition, Mr. Chairman, as I came into the room, signed by quite a few of my constituents in Minnesota in support of this project, but I guess the telling side of the poster is on the reverse on which it says not all women wore love beads in the sixties. It says a lot about the kind of commitment that the men and the women of this country made who were willing to serve in Vietnam.

Today, Mr. Chairman and Senator Murkowski, you will hear from voices more experienced and much more eloquent than my own on why this memorial should be built. I urge you to heed those voices and support the passage of S. 2042.

Thank you.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you, Senator Durenberger.

Senator Durenberger, just to be the devil's advocate, can you imagine any other proposal as an addition to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial other than this that you would support?

Senator DURENBERGER. I cannot, no, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BUMPERS. A lot of American Indians lost their lives in Vietnam, and there has been some suggestion that there ought to be some commemoration of them separately from the statue that exists there now.

Would you support that?

Senator DURENBERGER. No, I would not, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BUMPERS. You cannot imagine any addition other than a statue of a woman that you would support?

Senator DURENBERGER. I cannot, Mr. Chairman, no. I find in the original language of the authorizing legislation, I find that very instructive, and I find that in and of itself limiting. I do not find that, as some have said, women are a special or a single issue interest group or some other one of the readily identified special interests in America. Women are a majority of the people of this country, and so I cannot—I guess ever since this notion was presented to me, I wondered why I had not thought about that long before they did.

Senator BUMPERS. Senator Durenberger, when did you first visit the Vietnam Veterans Memorial?

Senator DURENBERGER. I guess I cannot remember the date, but it was probably six years ago now, something like that.

Senator BUMPERS. Six years ago.

Senator DURENBERGER. Yes.

Senator BUMPERS. Was it a moving experience for you?

Senator DURENBERGER. Incredibly so because I went there expecting—we come from—I know Vermont is the so-called Granite State, but Minnesota has got a lot more granite than any other state, and so you will find in our public buildings and in our memorials a lot of works of art on stone, and so I went there with the feeling that what I was going to see was another large stone monument, and that I would walk along it and look for familiar names.

I found that as a practical matter, the names that I had come prepared to look for I neglected until my second visit to actually go to seek out because I was overcome by the feeling that was generated inside me by both the simplicity and the numbers that were represented on that stone.

Senator BUMPERS. Did you feel that your visit there was incomplete for lack of a statue of a woman?

Senator DURENBERGER. I have—well, if the Vietnam Memorial were only the stone with the engraved names, I am not sure how I would have reacted, but when I see the memorial with sort of the traditional male with a weapon, or the traditional infantryman, it is not complete. It is not complete at all.

I thought, for example, when I first saw this statue, I thought nurse, and I have heard a lot of people say, you know, nurse, why do we not represent all of the other occupations. But then I got thinking, Mr. Chairman, that infantryman has always represented all of the MOS', if you will, but it has also stood for man, and this stands very clearly for woman. It stands more for woman, as you will hear from those with more ability than I to express it, than it stands for nurse.

So as the infantryman says man, the addition of this says woman, and I think this does complete the memorial.

Senator BUMPERS. Senator Murkowski?

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK H. MURKOWSKI, U.S. SENATOR FROM ALASKA

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend you for holding this hearing today. I think it is most appropriate. I think that the sensitivity expressed in the statement of the Senator from Minnesota has been a reflection on, indeed, our long recognition of this void, and while I gather there are certain realities associated with the final approval of this design, I certainly want to take the opportunity to express my support for Senate Bill 2042. You know, when speaking of the Vietnam Women's Memorial, it is important, and I think we would all agree, to reflect upon the organization, the people who have worked so hard to establish this lasting tribute to America's women Vietnam veterans. The memorial project was founded in 1984 by the three Vietnam veterans who have really dedicated their time to tell the American people about the role that women played in that conflict. As such, they have done really a superb job in ensuring a place in history for women Vietnam veterans. I think we can all agree, Mr. Chairman, that we are grateful for their contribution.

As we reflect throughout American history, women in uniform have served our nation. They have served our nation well, and their service in Vietnam was part of that great tradition. Of the thousands of women who served, many were young nurses fresh out of school caring for our wounded with great skill and great compassion in intensive care units, burn units. These women witnessed firsthand the overwhelming and painful costs of war. They witnessed the frustration and the horror that war brings. And I think now is the time for these women veterans to know that their work, their commitment in Vietnam did not go so unnoticed.

I think that the statue in honor and recognition of more than 10,000 American women who served in that conflict is being recognized as it appropriately should be. These brave women clearly deserve to be recognized for their great contribution and great sacrifices. It is my sincere belief that this statue in their honor is a most fitting and appropriate tribute, and I would certainly anticipate, by the support that you have seen, Senator Durenberger, on that bill that a far vast majority of our colleagues are in agreement.

Mr. Chairman, I have no questions specifically of the witness other than to commend him and you for moving ahead in this long overdue and worthy memorial.

I would ask the balance of my statement be included as if read in the record.

[The prepared statement of Senator Murkowski follows:]

STATEMENT BY SENATOR FRANK H. MURKOWSKI (R-AK)
ON LEGISLATION TO AUTHORIZE CONSTRUCTION OF A MEMORIAL
TO HONOR THE WOMEN VETERANS OF THE VIETNAM WAR

I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY SUPPORT FOR S. 2042, A BILL WHICH WOULD AUTHORIZE THE VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL PROJECT, TO CONSTRUCT A STATUE IN HONOR AND RECOGNITION OF THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES WHO SERVED IN UNIFORM DURING THE VIETNAM WAR. I WAS PLEASED TO HAVE JOINED WITH MY TWO DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES, MR. CRANSTON FROM CALIFORNIA AND MR. DURENBERGER FROM MINNESOTA, AS AN ORIGINAL COSPONSOR ON THIS IMPORTANT LEGISLATION.

WHEN SPEAKING OF THE VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE REFLECT UPON THE ORGANIZATION AND THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE WORKED SO HARD TO ESTABLISH THIS LASTING TRIBUTE TO AMERICA'S WOMEN VIETNAM VETERANS. THE VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL PROJECT WAS FOUNDED IN 1984 BY THREE VIETNAM VETERANS WHO DEDICATE THEIR TIME TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE ROLE THAT WOMEN PLAYED IN THE VIETNAM WAR. AS SUCH, THEY HAVE DONE A SUPERB JOB IN ENSURING A PLACE IN HISTORY FOR WOMEN VIETNAM VETERANS. WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTION.

THROUGHOUT AMERICAN HISTORY, WOMEN IN UNIFORM HAVE SERVED OUR NATION AND SERVED IT WELL. THEIR SERVICE IN VIETNAM WAS PART OF THAT GREAT TRADITION. OF THE THOUSANDS OF WOMEN WHO SERVED IN VIETNAM, MANY WERE YOUNG NURSES FRESH OUT OF SCHOOL CARING FOR OUR WOUNDED WITH GREAT SKILL AND COMPASSION IN INTENSIVE-CARE WARDS AND BURN UNITS. THESE WOMEN WITNESSED FIRSTHAND THE OVERWHELMING AND PAINFUL COSTS OF WAR. THEY WITNESSED THE FRUSTRATION AND HORROR OF WAR. NOW IS THE TIME FOR THESE WOMEN VERTERANS TO KNOW THAT THEIR WORK IN VIETNAM DID NOT GO UNNOTICED.

THIS STATUE, IN HONOR AND RECOGNITION OF THE 10,000 AMERICAN WOMEN WHO SERVED IN THE VIETNAM CONFLICT, IS LONG OVERDUE. THESE BRAVE WOMEN CLEARLY DESERVE TO BE RECOGNIZED FOR THEIR GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS AND SACRIFICES. IT IS MY SINCEREST BELIEF THAT A STATUE IN THEIR HONOR WOULD BE A MOST FITTING AND APPROPRIATE TRIBUTE.

I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO JOIN WITH US ON THIS IMPORTANT LEGISLATION.

Senator BUMPERS. Without objection.

Senator Durenberger, just one last question.

Thank you very much for your statement, Senator Murkowski.

I had a Vietnam veteran in my office yesterday afternoon. He is a longtime dear friend, lost both legs and one arm. And my guess is that his injuries were so severe and his losses so great that he will not live as long as he would otherwise live. He cannot exercise, for example, in many ways, like you and I do at that famous Senate gymnasium.

But I think it would be fair to say in his case as well as probably many thousands of others that the injuries sustained by a number of people in Vietnam will be a contributing cause to their death.

Would you be averse to putting his name on the wall when he dies?

Senator DURENBERGER. I have some difficulty in answering that, Mr. Chairman, and you are just going to have to let me think about it.

Senator BUMPERS. Fine. Thank you very much, Senator Durenberger.

I am going to ask the next three witnesses, all of whom are administration witnesses, to come forward.

You thought you had been elevated, did you not?

William Penn Mott, who is Director of the National Park Service; J. Carter Brown, Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts; Reginald W. Griffith, Executive Director of the National Capital Planning Commission.

Gentlemen, welcome.

Mr. Mott, we are honored to have you with us this afternoon. Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM PENN MOTT, JR., DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to provide your subcommittee with the views of the Department of the Interior on this legislation. In the light of saving some time, I am going to condense my remarks. You have a copy of my total comments.

As you know, I recommended and the Secretary concurred that the statue be added to the existing memorial. Women who served in and with our armed forces in Vietnam have done so with honor, strength and commitment. Yet they are often overlooked when our Nation recognizes its veterans.

If Congress concurs with us that this statue would enhance the memorial, then we would have no objections to this bill. In addition, we wish to commend the authors of S. 2042 for their sensitivity and foresight in placing in the bill an expression of the sense of Congress that with the addition of a statue of a woman veteran, the memorialization to our Vietnam veterans will be complete. We wholeheartedly agree. We intend to work closely with the Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Planning Commission and the nonprofit Vietnam Women's Memorial Project.

We do have one technical amendment to the bill which should be considered in any further action on the measures, and we will make that available to your staff.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Mott follows:]

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM PENN MOTT, JR., DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS, AND FORESTS, SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, CONCERNING S. 2042, A BILL TO AUTHORIZE CONSTRUCTION OF A STATUE HONORING WOMEN WHO SERVED IN THE VIETNAM CONFLICT.

February 23, 1988

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to provide your Subcommittee with the views of the Department of the Interior on this legislation.

S. 2042 would authorize the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc., a nonprofit corporation, to construct a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran within the 2.2 acre site of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in the District of Columbia.

The Secretary of the Interior would be authorized to select a suitable site, with the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission; and the design and plans for the statue would be subject to the approval of the Secretary and the two Commissions. The bill contains the usual provisions that (1) neither the United Sates nor the District of Columbia shall be put to any expense in the construction of the statue, and (2) the authority shall lapse unless construction is begun within 5 years and prior to groundbreaking sufficient funds are available to complete the statue.

Section 2 of the bill would express the sense of Congress that (1) it is appropriate that the statue be constructed to help complete the process of recognition and healing, (2) the addition of the statue could and should be undertaken pursuant to the law authorizing the Vietnam Veterans Memorial without the need for this bill, (3) the Secretary and the Commissions should give weighty consideration to the sense of Congress that a statue of a woman veteran should be constructed at the Memorial site, and

(4) after the addition of a statue of a woman veteran, the Memorial will be complete and no further additions should be authorized or undertaken.

As you know, I recommended, and the Secretary concurred, that the statue be added to the existing memorial. Women who served in and with our Armed Forces in Vietnam have done so with honor, strength, and commitment, yet they are often overlooked when our Nation recognizes its veterans. The law that authorized construction of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Public Law 96-297, specifically dictated that the memorialization is "in honor and recognition of the men and women...who served in the Vietnam war." Statuary representation of the 10,000 women who served in Vietnam, of whom about 5,000 were civilians, would appropriately recognize the contributions of these women as envisioned by the law that authorized the Memorial. This proposal has widespread support among many Americans, particularly veteran's organizations which we have consulted.

If Congress concurrs with us that this statue would enhance the Memorial, then we would have no objection to this bill. In addition, we wish to commend the authors of S. 2042 for their sensitivity and foresight in placing in the bill an expression of the sense of the Congress that with the addition of a statue of a woman veteran, the memorialization to our Vietnam Veterans will be complete. We wholeheartedly agree. We intend to work closely with the Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the nonprofit Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc.

We do have one technical amendment to the bill which should be considered in any further action on the measure.

This concludes by prepared remarks, Mr. Chairman. I would be pleased to respond to any questions you may have.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much.
Mr. J. Carter Brown.

STATEMENT OF J. CARTER BROWN, CHAIRMAN, COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the grey area as to whether or not I am here to represent the administration. As Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, I was appointed by the current President. I have to confess I was also appointed by the previous three Presidents, so that I consider my judgments to be nonpartisan.

If this legislation is passed, and even without it, if any new proposal of this kind should be submitted to the Commission of Fine Arts, we would keep an open mind and look at any proposal on its merits.

In the spirit of open mindedness, I believe the proposed legislation could be improved by entering less into design specifics of what it endorses; rather, it might refer to a specific commemoration of women Vietnam veteran whenever it now calls for a statue of a woman.

Meanwhile, I would like to take this opportunity to review for the committee some of the events and thinking that have led up to the point which we are at today.

Congress has, as I see it, already taken four important actions that relate to this issue. First of all, it authorized the Vietnam Veterans Memorial itself, as we heard in your excellent testimony. Congress' mandate has been carried out, and it has been proclaimed for the millions of annual visitors to see reaffirmed in the inscription at the very center which reads "In honor of the men and women of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Vietnam War."

And the resulting memorial has been as successful as any history. We need not insist on that. The original drawings puzzled some people, but now no one can leave there unmoved.

Second, in 1986 the Congress passed Public Law 99-652, known as the Commemorative Works Act, in order to guard against the proliferation of statuary and memorials in the monumental core of Washington. The need for this partly triggered by the very success of the Vietnam Memorial as it now stands. The natural impulse is for every group now to want to achieve memorialization. Very wisely, the Congress has foreseen where this could lead and has taken a very commendable initiative in applying brakes to a process that, if left completely to the winds of political opportunism, could conceivably make a travesty of the memorials we now have.

Third, the Congress has recognized the deep debt of gratitude this nation owes the dedicated and heroic women who have served the Armed Forces of this country in Vietnam and in all wars by passing also in 1986 Public Law 99-610 authorizing a memorial specifically for women in the monumental core of the Capital area. A memorial to nurses who have served their country in war already exists in Arlington Cemetery. The congressional mandate I refer to, however, goes beyond that and beyond the current legislative proposal which is limited to the women who served in Vietnam. In PL

99-610, Congress implicitly underscored the importance of fairness and of not excluding the contributions of women in all other wars. This memorial would include the heroic uniformed women of the Vietnam conflict, yes, who numbered some 10,000, but it would also recognize, for example, the over 350,000 women who served in World War II. Some of them were shot down in action delivering bombers from U.S. factories, and, in other countless ways, well over a million women have served our country in war in degrees of sacrifice that are beyond measure. Although breaking out the Vietnam component and treating it separately does not theoretically preclude the memorial that has already been authorized by Congress, in the practical world of fundraising, since all of these must be built with private funds, it does undeniably interfere with it.

Fourth, the Congress has created two commissions, the Commission of Fine Arts in 1910, and the National Capital Planning Commission in 1924, specifically to serve the people of this country by bringing to bear expert opinion on issues of just this kind. Congress has then and since consistently recognized that questions of design are not best resolved by large legislative bodies. As to the Fine Arts Commission's role, we believe that a wrongly designed memorial will, over the years, do a disservice to the cause it is attempting to serve, and thus we feel the Commission's role lies in the line of patriotic duty to the long-term interests of the nation as a whole.

Historically, the Commission of Fine Arts is very proud of its specific role over the past 15 years in helping to bring about the highly successful Vietnam Memorial that exists today. In the beginning, if you will remember, on that site were the tempos, the temporary office buildings that cluttered the mall as an expedient of World War I and remained until finally President Nixon took up the cudgels personally and got them torn down. His idea for that space north of the Reflecting Pool, however, was to create a Tivoli on the Mall, and the Fine Arts Commission fought the concept of an amusement park on that site as inappropriate.

The resulting landscape design we believe is enormously successful. Constitution Gardens, as that site is now called, contains a very beautiful meadow whose point is its flatness in contrast to the great vertical statements made by the Lincoln and Washington Monuments. Therefore, when we first heard that Congress had mandated a memorial in that area, we had deep misgivings. We were thus immensely relieved when we found that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial jury had chosen, from the 1,421 designs submitted, a solution offered by a talented designer, herself a woman, which took the given of that flatness and moulded it into the memorial we now know and cherish. Its long arms point each to the great presidential memorials, and thus in a sense incorporate by reference the ideals for which our Armed Forces suffered in Vietnam.

We are particularly proud of the Fine Arts Commission's role in making it possible for the present memorial to exist at all. So deep was our conviction of the importance of the subject, that these heroic veterans, men and women, should be recognized on the Mall, and so impressed were we with the design by Maya Lin, that I personally risked the opprobrium of the arts community in this country in pleading with my fellow Commission members to give in

to the demand of the then-Secretary of the Interior, Secretary Watt, that we agree in principle to the addition of a bronze sculpture and flag before he would release the building permit that would allow any memorial to be constructed.

As to the flag, this presented little problem, even though we were trying to avoid vertical elements, as long as it could be properly sited. The idea of placing it at the apex of the wall, like a golf tee, would have rendered a tremendous disservice to our national flag, as no vertical element of that scale could look anything but silly in immediate juxtaposition with the enormous stretch of wall and the emotional power of the memorial as designed. That apex, reflecting as it does our two greatest American monuments, is already charged with patriotic meaning and needs no further prettification.

Imagine plunking an American flag on top of the Lincoln or Jefferson Memorials, or why not, the Washington Monument.

As to adding any sculptural group, it certainly was with heavy misgivings that my fellow Commission members and I reached this compromise in our own minds, but we felt that if the right sculptor were involved and the location of the statuary were sensitively enough placed, we could just get away with one such exception without destroying the extraordinary integrity and power of the basic memorial itself.

And I believe, Mr. Chairman, we did just get away with it, as the present sculpture is such an impressive work of art and sets up a kind of dynamic balance, an interaction with the memorial, and serves as an explicatory entrance experience for those who approach the memorial from the Lincoln Memorial, which so many do.

The solution offered by the Vietnam veterans for a specific sculpture was to resort to symbolism, as there was no way a literal depiction could be made to include all the elements who fought or served in Vietnam. It is the device honored over the millenia of having the part stand for the whole. Many heroic Americans who served are not literally depicted in that sculptural element. Among them, it is true, are the 10,000 women who served as a part of the uniformed force numbering over 3 million, or, as it happens then, less than half of 1 percent.

But the point of the memorial is not the piece of sculpture that got added to it. The original memorial, the wall, stands to honor all, and is explicitly inclusive. The emotional issue today, I recognize, is triggered by the bronze that is there now which tends to produce envy on the part of anyone belonging to any subgroup that is not visually depicted by those three infrantrymen. The Commission felt in its review this fall that including a white, Army nurse would only continue and exacerbate that process of exclusion. It is a slippery slope.

We were equally unhappy with the October 22 submission on a variety of design grounds, but I am not sure this is the forum for getting into all of those details.

I sketch in this history, in closing, Mr. Chairman, merely to establish for the record that this is perhaps a more complicated issue than it may appear on the surface, and that the Fine Arts Commission action this fall was not taken capriciously or prejudicially. If there is a conceptual flaw in including any statuary, we questioned

whether it could ever be corrected by merely adding more. Two do not make a right. If this year's legislation says we stop with just one more addition, what does next year's legislation say?

I commend this committee on taking valuable time to review this matter, and my fellow Commissioners and I look forward to the opportunity of continuing objectively and open-mindedly to serve this Congress in any way it asks.

[Subsequent to the hearing Mr. Brown submitted the following:]

THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS

ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS MAY 17, 1910

J. CARTER BROWN, Chairman

CAROLYN J. DEAVER
ROY M. GOODMAN
FREDERICK E. HART
NEIL H. PORTERFIELD
PASCAL REGAN
DIANE WOLF

CHARLES H. ATHERTON, Secretary

MAR 0 8 RECD

708 JACKSON PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
202-566-1066

March 7, 1988

Dear Senator Bumpers:

When testifying on the Vietnam Women's Memorial project at your hearing on 23 February, I stated that the Commission believes the language of the bill could be improved by omitting a specific mandate for "a statue of a woman" and broadening the bill to read "a specific commemoration of women Vietnam veterans."

Since this recommendation was so brief and occurred at the very beginning of my remarks, I want to be certain it is not overlooked and is given the appropriate weight intended by the Commission.

We believe that, as a rule, legislation should not spell out specific design requirements, but should allow a number of solutions, some of which might fit the program better than others. Such an approach allows greater latitude in finding the most appropriate answer, and this is particularly true for the Vietnam Memorial where the existing context is not only sensitive, but relatively fixed.

We hope your committee will give serious consideration to modifying the wording of the bill to allow for this greater latitude.

Let me add how enormously impressed I was by your conduct of the hearings.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

J. Carter Brown
Chairman

The Honorable Dale L. Bumpers
United States Senate (229 SDOB)
Washington, D.C. 20510-0401

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much.

Gentlemen, let me just say I am reluctant to impose any kind of a rule of limiting statements, but we have 18 witnesses, which means we are going to be going into the evening at the rate we are going, and if anybody can possibly summarize their statements or shorten them in any way, this Chairman will be most grateful.

You just happened to get elected, Mr. Griffith.

Proceed.

STATEMENT OF REGINALD W. GRIFFITH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION

Mr. GRIFFITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I will of course have my total statement for the record, and I will attempt to at least eliminate part of it.

Senator BUMPERS. Mr. Griffith, would you pull the microphone up as close as you feel comfortable with it. We do not pass very good laws, and our sound system is even worse.

Mr. GRIFFITH. All right.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you and the other members of the committee for the invitation to present the views of the National Capital Planning Commission on Senate Bill 2042. Mention has already been made of the role of the National Capital Planning Commission, and therefore I will not go into our very long history since 1924 but will focus directly on the subject.

It is hoped that during our 64 years we have acquired some wisdom as well as insights into how to accommodate change with preservation while presiding over the orderly growth and development of the federal establishment in the region.

In terms of Senate Bill 2042, we appreciate that the authors confer approval authority over location, design and plans to NCPC as well as to the Commission of Fine Arts and to the Secretary of the Interior. This authority will enable us to continue our role of reviewing the monuments and memorials in our nation's capital consistent with the comprehensive plan and considerations of historic preservation as well as other principles of sound planning.

Having said that, however, I must express some concerns.

First, an addition to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial at this time would represent the second alteration. You will recall that the memorial's final design was approved February 18, 1982. The memorial was officially dedicated on November 13, 1982, that is, Veteran's Day weekend. Then the first addition of the statue and the flag pole that has been referred to earlier was made in March of 1983. At that time we all believed the memorial was complete.

And now we have another proposal. At what point is the memorial complete?

Second, how far do we go in identifying categories of individuals within the group we honor?

And third, what effect will this precedent of continued changes after the fact have on other memorials currently being planned?

These questions in no way detract from the respect and the gratitude that the Commission holds for the women who served in the Vietnam conflict. Those heroic women fully deserve the full honors

of a grateful nation. The question is not if these women should be honored but how.

Is an addition to this existing powerful memorial the answer? We have our doubts. As members of the committee have noted from recent newspaper accounts, the Commission has advised the Secretary of the Interior that its members are opposed in principle to any further additions to the memorial site.

We believe it behooves all of us to bear in mind that this memorial represents honor to those who served in Vietnam, and it also symbolizes the final link between those who made the ultimate sacrifice and their remaining loved ones. The memorial has served as the place for thousands to comfort and grieve and to begin to heal. Change begets changed, and further modifications only serve to reopen emotional wounds.

The power of the memorial has become so compelling it has been universally acclaimed in its present form. Because of the simplicity and the great strength of the memorial as it now stands, change should not be undertaken without considering other related legislative initiatives already under way.

Here I would like to point to and reiterate Mr. Brown's third observation, Public Law 99-610, passed in 1986. This law authorizes a memorial in the monumental core for all women who served in the Armed Forces. This memorial will include not only the courageous women who served in the Vietnam conflict, but all of the brave women who participated in all wars beginning with Pearl Harbor. Although one memorial does not necessarily preclude another, it raises certain practical issues along with aesthetic considerations.

We would like to commend the committee for providing the Commission as well as other parties the opportunity to be heard. Although we believe that altering the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in any way must be approached very carefully and only after considerable thought and deep reflection, you can rest assured that regardless of your decision, the National Capital Planning Commission will implement the will and the intent of Congress to the very best of its professional ability.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my remarks.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Griffith follows:]

NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION
1325 G STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20576

Statement on S. 2042 By

Reginald W. Griffith
Executive Director

Before the
Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
Subcommittee on Public Lands,
National Parks and Forests

February 23, 1988

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you and the other members of the Committee for the invitation to present the views of the National Capital Planning Commission on Senate Bill 2042.

NCPC is the central planning agency for the federal government in the National Capital Region. The area includes the District of Columbia and the counties of Montgomery and Prince George's in Maryland; and Arlington, Fairfax, Loudoun and Prince William counties in Virginia. Essentially, NCPC approves all federal projects in the District and has an advisory role for federal projects in the Region.

Although our statutory authority rests on the Planning Act of 1952, our antecedents go back to 1924. That is the year when the Commission was established as a park planning agency. Over the years additional legislation expanded NCPC's function until it became what it is today. Incidentally, NCPC'S best known chairman was probably Frederick Delano, uncle and father-figure to Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

I share this historical note only to point out that the Commission has a perspective that has been tempered by resolving competing claims of one kind or another over a long period of time. It is our hope that during these 64 years we have acquired some wisdom as well as insights into how to accommodate change with preservation while presiding over the orderly growth and development of the federal establishment in the Region.

In terms of Senate Bill 2042, we appreciate that the authors confer approval authority over location, design and plans to NCPC as well as to the Commission of Fine Arts and to the Secretary of the Interior. This authority will enable us to continue our role of reviewing the monuments and memorials in our nation's capital consistent with the Comprehensive Plan, considerations for historic preservation as well as other principles of sound planning.

Having said that, however, I must also express some concerns.

- First, an addition to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial at this time would represent the second alteration. You will recall that the Memorial's final design was approved in February 18, 1982.

The Memorial was officially dedicated on November 13, 1982--Veterans Day weekend. Then the first addition of the statues and flag pole was made in March of 1983. At that time we all believed that the Memorial was complete. And now we have another proposal. At what point is a memorial complete?

- Second, how far do we go in identifying categories of individuals within the group we honor? And
- Third, what effect will this precedent of continued changes after the fact have on other memorials currently being planned?

These questions in no way detract from the respect and gratitude the Commission holds for the women who served in the Vietnam conflict. Those heroic women fully deserve the full honors of a grateful nation.

The question is not <u>if</u> these women should be honored, but <u>how</u>? Is an addition to this existing powerful memorial the answer? We have our doubts. As members of the Committee may have noted from recent newspaper accounts, the Commission has advised the Secretary of the Interior that its members are opposed in principle to any further additions to the Memorial site.

We believe it behooves all of us to bear in mind what this memorial represents. It is not only to honor those who served in Vietnam, but also to symbolize the final link between those who made the ultimate sacrifice and their remaining loved ones. The memorial has served as the place for thousands to comfort grief and begin to heal. Change begets change, and further modifications only serve to reopen emotional wounds.

The power of the Memorial has become so compelling it has been universally acclaimed in its present form. Because of the simplicity and great strength of the Memorial as it now stands, change should not be undertaken without considering other related legislative initiatives already under way.

I am sure the Committee is aware of Public Law 99-610 passed in 1986. This law authorizes a memorial in the Monumental Core for all women who served in the Armed Forces. This memorial will include not only the courageous women who served in the Vietnam conflict, but all of the brave women who participated in all wars beginning with Pearl Harbor. Although one memorial does not necessarily preclude another, it raises certain practical issues along with aesthetic considerations.

We would like to commend the Committee for providing the Commission as well as other parties the opportunity to be heard. Although we believe that altering the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in any way must be approached very carefully and only after considerable thought and deep reflection, you can rest assured that regardless of your decision, the National Capital Planning Commission will implement the will and intent of Congress to the very best of its professional abilities.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my statement. I shall be happy to respond to questions.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much.

Mr. Griffith, do you know just off hand how many of these 10,000 women who served in Vietnam were black?

Mr. GRIFFITH. No, sir, I do not, but I will be happy to research that.

Senator BUMPERS. Do you know the answer to that, Mr. Brown or Mr. Mott?

Mr. BROWN. I do not, but I know that some of them were.

Senator BUMPERS. What was the vote in the Fine Arts Commission, Mr. Brown, on this?

Mr. BROWN. Four to one.

Senator BUMPERS. In opposition?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, that is right. We had one abstention because we had someone who had been involved in the memorial itself, so he excused himself.

Senator BUMPERS. Do you agree with the function and the purpose of the Fine Arts Commission, Mr. Mott, the reason it was set up, and the Capital Planning Commission? Do you believe in their role in this?

Mr. MOTT. I think that they have definitely a role. In my mind, as a landscape architect and having studied the site very carefully, I felt that the addition of the women's statue in juxtaposition to the men's statue would close the design concept and make it a much more desirable site from that point of view.

Senator BUMPERS. Can you think of any other additions or deletions from this memorial that you would support?

Mr. MOTT. No, I would think that this would finalize the design.

Senator BUMPERS. Do you think that the Secretary ought to, any time he feels like it, overrule the Fine Arts Commission on a four to one vote?

Mr. MOTT. I think the Secretary certainly does not feel that he should overrule the commissions in their actions. I think that he feels that if Congress, in its wisdom, decides to make the change and add the statue, that that is their responsibility.

Senator BUMPERS. In short, the precedent that would be set here does not disturb you?

Mr. MOTT. The precedent of establishing another statue?

Senator BUMPERS. Well, the precedent of just overruling the Fine Arts Commission which was set up basically for this purpose.

Congress obviously can undo any law it ever passes, and certainly it can have the final say about what it is going to go on this memorial any time it chooses to. I must say for 535 men and women to try to design anything is very difficult, and that is one of the reasons, obviously, this Commission was set up.

I must say that this is a most poignant, compelling statue there, but I am just asking you if somebody else comes in and wants some alteration or change, in the case of the flag or something else, what you are saying is you would be adamantly opposed to any additional changes or deletions or additions?

Mr. MOTT. I would think so.

Senator BUMPERS. Would you feel the same way now if there had been 10,000 women who served there and none had died?

Are we memorializing those who served or those who died or both?

Mr. MOTT. Oh, I think those who died are memorialized in the wall, and those who served would be memorialized in the statue.

Senator BUMPERS. So you think that if 10,000 served but nobody died, your feelings would be the same?

Mr. MOTT. Yes.

Senator BUMPERS. If 100 served and one died, would you feel the same?

Mr. MOTT. Yes.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much, gentlemen, for appearing here today.

John P. Wheeler III, Chairman of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund.

Mr. Wheeler, welcome to the committee. We are very pleased to have you and anxious to receive your testimony.

Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF JOHN P. WHEELER III, CHAIRMAN, VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL FUND, INC.

Mr. WHEELER. Thank you, Senator, and I will do my best to meet your time limit.

I am John Wheeler, Chairman of the Board of the Memorial Fund. I am a Vietnam veteran. I served as a Captain on the General Staff in Long Binh from 1969 to 1970, and during the Reagan administration I have served in two appointive positions, and until recently I served as Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Mothers Against Drunk Driving.

If America has a symbolic heart, it is the Mall in Washington, D.C., so that any change or alteration of the memorials there is something that has to be done with great circumspection.

Having made that point, I would like to move directly to the three reasons which I find most compelling for adding the figure of a woman to the site.

The first is the effect of such a statue on youth. In the years since we have built the memorial, I have lectured in a number of schools, colleges, universities, and I have taken a lot of children and college-age youth to the memorial. I have noted that boys, especially young boys, boys under 15 years of age, respond very strongly to that statue. It helps them understand the memorial, and it teaches them the lesson that each generation has to earn this country, re-earn the country. The questions they ask make me realize that.

I have noticed that the young girls are a little more restrained, and it is harder to draw them out.

It is my conviction that the figure of a woman in the memorial area would help youth, young girls, understand their country better and respond in a deeper way to the memorial, and it will plant a seed that they will always remember of empathy with their country and its purposes.

Now, in saying that, just to be very specific, I can think of one 12 year old girl named Caitlin who lives in Connecticut, an 11 year old named Amanda in California, an 11 year old named Katie in South Carolina, all of whom I have talked with, and I am offering that thought, the impact of the memorial on youth.

Now, it is true that 20 million Americans have visited the memorial, but that number is almost doubled when you count two traveling walls that tour the country, and then two photo exhibits which the Smithsonian Institution now circulates among museums in the country, a movie that is being produced about how the memorial was built, and to date, four books about the memorial.

What I am offering is the fact that nearly 40 million Americans have been touched directly one way or the other by the Memorial, and that each year about two million young children visit the Memorial, and about a million of those are girls who are under 15 years of age.

The second reason is the role of nurses. It is true that eight are named on the wall, but another fact that has particular significance for me is that about 10,000 men died in the MASH units. That is, out of 60,000 or approximately 60,000 casualties, most were killed by direct action on the ground, but about 10,000 died of wounds in the MASH.

That means that the nurse that was taking care of them was the last person that they spoke with or talked with. The effect of that is that that nurse died a death with the soldier. And many of those nurses still bear that wound.

300,000 soldiers were wounded, and each of those wounds tended to be very traumatic, and of course it was nurses that bore the worst moments of depression and feeling of being lost, afraid of death, that these soldiers went through. And it is the nurses that still bear those wounds.

If there were 10,000 nurses, that means in rough terms there was one death per nurse, three wounds per nurse. And that means that each of the nurses you meet is still carrying the effects of those wounds.

A third point that I find compelling is that somewhere there in the sixties our country bridged some great divide, some change in its life. And to an extent, although we did not plan it or intend it, the Memorial represents that transition.

And the fact is that during the sixties and the early seventies the role of women in our country advanced more than it probably had in the last century. And there is some truth, some deep poetic truth, to the fact that the figure of a woman in the Memorial would express that truth.

Finally, I know that a lot of debate on this issue tends to get buried in statistics and deep pros and cons. The point I would like to make is that this is not a question that can be resolved by counting up numbers of people who served or who were wounded.

And it is first of all a question of the heart, not a question of statistics. It is my judgment that the role of women is absolutely unique, it is sui generis, and such that the role of women is completely apart from any other proponent for change in the Memorial.

Also, Senator Bumpers, building this Memorial has been a process. It in fact has been a process, and adding names to the Memorial is something that we do. We did add the statue and, thanks to Carter Brown, it turned out to work brilliantly with the entryway that he built. And we are still in the midst of that process.

And it will take some judgment. There will be controversy, and it will take some faith as you all make your decision.

I brought some items which I wanted to put in the record because it will illuminate a little bit about the past and about this process that may be useful as you deliberate and later as the House deliberates on this issue.

First of all, I would very briefly like to thank the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Hodel, and also Mr. Mott for the work that they have done in caring for the Memorial. They have taken a lot of steps, many of them extraordinary, to make the Memorial work well for the American people.

One of them is a computer they have that helps people—helps soldiers find a buddy, even if all they remember is a nickname or where the guy was from.

I would like to thank Carter Brown for the work that he has done so far in being a shepherd of the Memorial and the work he did in finding a solution to add that first statue. And Carter, I think what we will do with the Memorial fund is get you a flak vest and a battle helmet, because I can't think of anyone that has done more or borne more responsibility on this issue.

Maya Lin is in the room and I know she could not say it herself, but it is very important for you to know that the controversy she found herself swept up into after we adopted her design was very painful, very personally painful. And she has been through a great deal in shepherding her design and living with the fact that she is the person who conceived the walls.

I would like to shift now very briefly to the question of cons. That is, I have listed three compelling reasons why there should be a figure of a woman, but first of all, there is a slippery slope, the threat of a sculpture garden.

I think that argument is overdone. I believe the American people have a lot of forebearance, and if this Congress, together with the Memorial Fund, declares that Memorial finished if a woman's figure is added, I am confident that that would be the rule that endures. It is a judgment question and it is a question of forebearance.

To answer your earlier question, Senator Bumpers, as far as the Memorial Fund is concerned, if this figure is added that would be the last change ever.

You asked a question about Indians. I do see them as an important group, as many other groups are important. But they do not stand in the special category that women stand, so that we would object to adding the figure of an Indian.

Very briefly, one anecdote. During the week that we dedicated the Memorial, several Indians came out from the Midwest dressed in eagle feathers and they dedicated the Memorial to the Great Spirit. And right at the end of their ceremony on a rainy day, the clouds parted and the sun shone smack on the vertex of the Memorial.

It struck Jan Scruggs so deeply that he called me and told me about it, nearly in tears.

There has been a special relationship between the Memorial and the Indians, particularly because of the warrior tradition among

Indians. But I believe that America's Indian population would forebear if Congress made plain that this was the last change ever.

The second con, the second difficulty, might be that there in fact is no solution, that the Fine Arts Commission acting in good faith might find that there is no suitable location or there is no suitable statute. And in this regard, it may be that the statue here is not the statue that Fine Arts could declare acceptable.

That is possible, and they may find no solution that is acceptable. I will say parenthetically, though, that if there is a solution I believe the Fine Arts Commission and Carter Brown can find it.

Third, there is a Women's Memorial that is being created. The difficulty with it is that that Memorial represents catch-up ball for all the wars that our country has already been in. There is an argument to be made that this Memorial ought to be done right and let the other Memorial to women represent catch-up for the some 200 years of our country's history.

Finally with respect to cons and problems, I would like specifically to address the question of a flagpole. There is a bill, H.R. 1600, advanced by Congressman Dornan to add a flagpole right at the vertex of the Memorial, a very tall one.

The flagpole would be a disaster. There already is a 60 foot mast with a flag at the Memorial. The Memorial Fund offers a site visit to any member of Congress or their staff who would like to visit the Memorial and see the existing flagpole.

And we would ask that the Senators who are on this panel and their staffs contact at an appropriate time their delegations, their fellow members of their state delegations who are in the House, and call their attention to this bill. It is H.R. 1600. It has, unfortunately, 236 co-sponsors, but I am not sure how many of the co-sponsors really understand the waters that they have set sail in.

I did bring some material. One of them that you have, Senator, is the memorandum of conveyance of the Memorial to the United States. And I cite it to point out two things: One is the role of the Memorial in working with the Department of the Interior in approving any future change to the Memorial, so that the conveyance does represent our role as part of the stopgap to any future changes.

And finally, I would like to point out a problem. It is on page 5 of the memorandum of conveyance. In it you see that the artist who designed the statue and created it reserved the copyright to the statute for purposes of earning money.

That causes a great deal of trouble to the Memorial Fund and we would prefer that, if there was any graceful way to do it, that the Congress express its sentiments that any designs of statues be given completely to the United States and that there be no profit made on them.

One other item that I brought was pertinent extracts from the story of how the Memorial got built. It is a book called "To Heal a Nation," and the extracts refer specifically to the background that is pertinent both to this discussion, showing that it is a process that you are involved in, and to the specific agreement that was made as to the location of the present flagpole. And that is pertinent to the question of reopening the whole fight over where a flagpole should go or where the present statue should go.

I brought one other item, which is a photograph that shows that there is a flagpole there. It is available to the press, and I would ask that, provided it is not too expensive to print it in the record, that the photograph and then along with that the items that I have just cited and the letter of invitation to the Memorial Fund from Senator Durenberger be placed in the record.

Finally, it has been my own experience and the experience of others involved in building the Memorial that the best interpretation and understanding of it comes on a spiritual level, that much of the work we have done has been work that has proceeded in faith that we are doing the right thing, and that we are dealing with something that is very central to our country's heart. And I think you will sense that as you evaluate this issue.

I would like to thank Beth, also Mary Hope of your staff and Randy Scheunemann of Senator Durenberger's staff, for putting this hearing together amidst a lot of controversy. And one thing I notice is that they all have a sense of humor, which made it a lot easier to get the work done.

Thank you for your time.

[The information referred to follows:]

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHENTICITY

The undersigned hereby certifies that the attached document entitled "Memorandum of Conveyance" dated November 11, 1984 is a true and complete copy of the Memorandum of Conveyance on file at the United States Department of the Interior.

Robert Frank

Secretary, Vietnam Memorial Fund, Inc.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of May, 1986.

Notary Public

My commission expires: 6-27-88

MEMORANDUM OF CONVEYANCE

This Memorandum of Conveyance between the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc. ("the VVMF"), and the United States Department of the Interior shall govern the conditions under which the VVMF shall convey all of its rights, title, and interest, except as hereinafter reserved, to the Department of the Interior to all those monuments, walkways, statues, objects, and other items now situated in Constitution Gardens in the District of Columbia known as and constituting the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

To aid in the interpretation of this document, as well as to state the conditions impelling this transfer, it is important to recite key elements of the history of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the VVMF up until this point.

The VVMF was incorporated as a nonprofit corporation in the District of Columbia on April 27, 1979, with the purpose of raising funds for the erection of a monument to American veterans of the Vietnam war. On July 1, 1980, the President of the United States signed Public Law 96-297 authorizing the VVMF to erect the Memorial on a two-acre site near the Lincoln Memorial in honor and recognition of the men and women of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Vietnam war. The Memorial was to be erected without government funds.

?

Under the statute, the Secretary of the Interior was responsible for determining that adequate funds were available prior to groundbreaking and for maintaining and caring for the completed Memorial.

The VVMF raised funds for the Memorial through an extensive mail solicitation campaign and from veterans organizations, corporations, foundations, community groups, and others. In 1981 the VVMF held a competition open to all Americans in order to select a design for the Memorial. The design was to be reflective and contemplative, harmonious with its site and environment, contain inscriptions of the names of the dead and missing from the Vietnam war, and make no political statement about the war. The winning design, approved by the Secretary of the Interior, the Commission on Fine Arts, and the National Capital Planning Commission, was a V-shaped memorial of polished black granite. The names of the dead and missing American casualties of the war were to be inscribed on the walls.

The design of the Memorial, like the war whose American soldiers it memorializes, has been controversial from the outset. To meet objections to the original design, a flagpole and statue have been added to the design. After approval by the appropriate authorities, ground was broken in March 1982 and dedicated at a National Salute to Vietnam Veterans during the week of Veterans Day, 1982.

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Despite the early controversy over its design, the Memorial has succeeded in attracting the public far beyond anyone's original expectations. In its brief existence it has become one of the most heavily visited monuments in the Nation's Capital. And for many who visit it, the Memorial has succeeded as a participatory monument that promotes reflection and contemplation. It has, in short, become hallowed ground.

Today, the Memorial stands virtually complete, a testament to five years' hard work by the members and staff of the VVMF. It is time, however, for the staff of the VVMF to go on to other affairs of life and thus, the VVMF, its funds almost depleted by construction of the Memorial, now intends to exist indefinitely as an unstaffed organization, adding and correcting names on the Memorial, holding annual meetings, assisting with semi-annual ceremonies at the Memorial, and serving as an organization able to come in should the Memorial need assistance. It is thus time for the Secretary of the Interior, pursuant to his authority and obligation under section 4 of Public Law 96-297, to maintain and care for the Memorial.

Therefore, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., by virtue of its authority under the laws of the District of Columbia and the United States of America, does hereby

transfer and convey, release and remise to the Department of the Interior, United States of America, all of its rights, title, and interest, except as hereinafter reserved, and dedicates to the public the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The Department of the Interior, United States of America, hereby accepts this conveyance.

1. In recognition of its interest in the ongoing success of the Memorial, the Department of the Interior shall notify the VVMF in writing of any intended or proposed changes whether temporary or permanent (other than insignificant changes associated with ordinary maintenance and care) in the design, configuration, or landscapings of the Memorial (including walkways, statues, and all other objects hereby conveyed), and the VVMF shall have the opportunity to discuss any such changes with representatives of the Department of the Interior.

2. With special attention to the controversy surrounding the Memorial and the war whose veterans it honors, and as part of its obligation to maintain and care for the Memorial, the Department of the Interior shall, subject to appropriations and temporary emergencies elsewhere, continue to provide high-level security, including frequent patrols and lighting, at the Memorial at all times.

3. In recognition of the importance of dealing fairly and responsibly with members of the public who may have lost loved ones in the Vietnam conflict, the Department of the Interior shall ensure that it has a representative able properly to answer correspondence and inquiries.

4. In recognition of its special role in the erection of the Memorial, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., may participate with the National Park Service in ceremonies at the Memorial on Memorial Day and on Veterans Day.

5. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., shall, consistent with Federal regulations governing use of the Memorial, from time to time add to the Memorial wall the names of those determined by the proper processes to have died as a result of injuries sustained in the Vietnam war. The Department of the Interior shall permit the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., all access to the Memorial reasonably necessary to the VVMF to fulfill this assumed responsibility.

6. This conveyance explicitly excludes a transfer of the copyright to the statue "The Three Servicemen." Copyright in the statue shall be retained by the VVMF and Frederick Hart, their successors, and assigns.

7. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., shall maintain residual funds to assist with repairs in the event of damage to the Memorial requiring, because of its catastrophic nature, more than ordinary maintenance to restore the Memorial to its original completed condition. The VVMF shall, in addition, retain residual funds sufficient to add to the Memorial wall the names of those determined to have died in the Vietnam war.

Executed at Washington, D.C., this 11th day of November, 1984.

VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL FUND, INC.

By: _____
Jan Scruggs, President

_____
John Wheeler, Chairman

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

By: _____
William P. Clark
Secretary

Witness:

_____
The President of the United States

TO HEAL A NATION

THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL

Jan C. Scruggs and Joel L. Swerdlow

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS, New York
Cambridge, Philadelphia, San Francisco, London
Mexico City, São Paulo, Singapore, Sydney

But we . . . shall be remembered;
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother; . . .

William Shakespeare
Henry V

APRIL 26, 1981: NATIONAL DAY OF RECOGNITION

ON FEBRUARY 24, 1981, President Reagan presented the Congressional Medal of Honor to Roy P. Benavidez, a retired Army sergeant. It had been lost in bureaucratic red tape for over a decade. Like most of the other 239 Medals of Honor awarded for Vietnam service, it was being given to a soldier who risked everything for his fellow GI's. On May 2, 1968, Benavidez had saved eight Green Berets, while he himself was seriously wounded and experiencing heavy enemy fire. "They [the vets] were greeted by no parades, no bands, no waving of the flag they so proudly served," Reagan said. "It's time to show our pride in them and and thank them."

A few weeks later, the President once again asked America to honor its Vietnam vets. He officially proclaimed April 26 a National Day of Recognition for Veterans of the Vietnam Era.

Despite emotions generated by the hostage release, the Day of Recognition generated little public response. Only 50 people turned out in Philadelphia; a ceremony in Minneapolis attracted less than 100 people.

To help draw attention to the Vietnam Memorial, two vets—one former infantryman and one former paratrooper—walked 818 miles from Jacksonville, Illinois, to the Mall in Washington, D.C. American Legion posts along the way gave them food, shelter, and moral support; and at

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the Ohio-Indiana border they were joined by Homer Tutor, whose son had been killed in Vietnam. "My wife and I want to see our son's name on the monument," he explained. He had intended only to cross Ohio with the two ex-GI's, but stayed all the way to Washington.

About 150 people, including vets on crutches and in wheelchairs, joined the walkers as they crossed the Potomac. "It would have been nice to have a bigger reception for these guys," Scruggs told reporters. "Well, maybe the Americans killed in Vietnam don't mean that much to a lot of people." He looked at the small crowd. Representatives of veterans organizations were there, but where were the senators and congressmen, and generals and admirals?

"I don't know what is wrong with us," a CBS commentator noted. "President Reagan [is] trying to cut out a measly twelve million dollars that supports neighborhood outreach centers that help Vietnam vets who still can't adjust to what happened to them on our behalf. And Vietnam Veterans Recognition Day gets no recognition.

"A lot of us hated the war, but I never thought we hated our fellow citizens whom we sent out there to do the fighting for us. . . . If all the people who go through Arlington so reverently every day would send a dollar to the Memorial Fund, we could erase part of the stain of dishonor our forgetting these veterans has brought to us."

THE JURY DELIBERATES

On Friday, March 14, businessman Ross Perot announced that he would underwrite the design competition—at a cost of $160,000. "They served with honor and are every bit as much heroes as are the veterans of every war since the American Revolution," he told reporters.

Some of the vets were upset. Acting on his own, Scruggs had solicited and accepted a sizable contribution. From one perspective, this was great. For a small organization, no $160,000 donation could be easily ignored. But Perot's generosity might make him feel he had a special license to comment on whatever design was eventually selected.

On the day the entries were trucked to Andrews AFB, Doubek realized that an unforeseen problem had to be solved. Pigeons were living in the empty hangar and would drop their waste on the artwork. A

suggestion was made: "Buy some pellet guns and the guards will take care of it while on duty," the officer suggested.

The jury was scheduled to conduct its deliberations from Monday, April 27, to Friday, May 1, when it would present its recommendation to the VVMF.

On Sunday evening, April 26, the Fund hosted a dinner for volunteers and jurors and their spouses at a fancy restaurant. It was a way to say thank you for the thousands of unpaid work hours. Doubek had warned everyone not even to hint at what sort of memorial was wanted, so the evening was filled with much joking and small talk. But unspoken fears dominated the veterans' thinking. They had given an extraordinary responsibility to men they barely knew, most old enough to be their fathers or grandfathers. What if the the jury came up with something lousy? Or controversial? Or insulting? Anything could happen. Plenty could go wrong.

The dinner's highlight came when one juror became drunk. He rambled on about war and death, and then tried to drink his chocolate mousse.

Right before the evening ended, Scruggs gave the jurors a pep talk. "Do your best," he said. As he left the room, Scruggs thought, These guys are the same age as the people who sent us to 'Nam.

On Monday morning, the jurors met and selected Grady Clay, editor of *Landscape Arcbitecture* and an expert on urban development, as their chairman.

For one hour they reviewed the competition requirements and discussed the principles behind the Memorial. It was to make no political statement, and it was to promote healing.

They then spread out to examine the 1,421 entries, each of which had been hung at eye level for easy viewing. The proposed memorials came in all shapes, including circles, semicircles, squares, Corinthian columns, miniature Lincoln memorials, and peace signs. There were towers, hovering helicopters, a giant Army helmet, mausoleums, abstract figures, and obelisks. Each juror had committed himself to examine every entry at least once.

That evening, a friend of one of the juror's bumped into him at their hotel in Georgetown.

"What's the quality of the entries?" the friend asked.

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"About what you'd expect."

"How's it going?"

"Very strange. One keeps haunting me."

By noon on Tuesday, 1,189 submissions had been eliminated. The remaining 232 were placed together for further examination and discussion.

That evening, the juror once again saw his friend. The juror shook his head. "It's still haunting me," he said.

The only VVMF official to enter the hangar during this period was Doubek, who made sure that the the jurors received whatever logistical backup they needed. He was able to see the process of elimination, and knew something strange was happening. Number 1026 kept surviving the cut. He looked at 1026 over and over again. For the life of me, I can't figure out what it is, he kept thinking.

Scruggs did not sleep well that week. Every night he would come home and ask his wife, Becky, "What if this fails? What if Wheeler was right and a vet should have been on the jury? What if this group of old fellows screws us with some abstract avant-garde work of art that no one can relate to? What if we let everyone down?"

She could only reply, "Don't worry so much. Things have always worked out."

By Thursday, the jury was down to the final 39 entries. Fifteen would receive honorable mention. There would be a third place finisher, a runner-up, and a winner.

Number 1026 generated the most comments: "There's no escape from its power." "A confused age needs a simple solution." "Totally eloquent." "He knows what he's doing, all right." "Presents both solitude and a challenge." "No other place in the world like that." "As though the ground had subsided away, leaving the rock on which are the names." "Shielded from street noise." "People come and experience it, not merely look at it." "Looks back to death and forward to life." "Note the reflectiveness." "Symbolizes the slow start and slow finish to the war in Vietnam." "It's easy to love it." "Visitors can come here and pay homage." "Not a thing of joy, but a large space for hope." "Quiet, a place speaking of acceptance." "Reverential." "Shows the evolution of the war."

When they finished a detailed discussion of the final three, Grady Clay polled the jurors. The unanimous winner was Number 1026.

He polled the jury again: 1026.

Spreiregen spoke to both Doubek and Scruggs that night.

"Do we have a beauty?" Scruggs asked.

"I think so. The jury was unanimous. But I feel a little uneasy about how you may react."

Scruggs drove with Don Schaet through a heavy rainstorm to Andrews AFB on Friday morning. As they entered the hangar, they saw rows and rows of designs hung on metal braces. It was breathtaking. The competititors had obviously invested an extraordinary amount of time and talent. Even the bad designs seemed to be in good taste. People had put heart and soul into their efforts. You could tell just from looking.

Scruggs walked off by himself to calm down. The Memorial was really going to happen! The names were going up on the Mall!

A flapping sound distracted him. Flopping along the floor was a wounded, bloody pigeon.

Jack Wheeler, Bob Doubek, Sandie Fauriol, John Woods, Bob Frank, Art Mosley, George Mayo, Karen Doubek, Kathie Kielich, Don Schaet, and Jan Scruggs sat on metal chairs facing the jurors.

Paul Spreiregen stood and described the process by which a winner had been selected. The words poured out. "Unanimous decision." "One of the most profound memorials ever built." "Exciting."

A juror went behind the curtain and brought out the number-three design, which would receive a $5,000 award. Scruggs recognized the work of Frederick Hart. It was great. Beautiful. He could not wait to see the next one.

The second-place winner, which would receive $10,000, looked weird to Scruggs. It was like a giant pile of twisted steel dumped on two marble pillars.

He pushed deeper into his chair, and felt good. The next one would be a winner, a great design.

Then it came. A big bat. A weird-looking thing that could have been from Mars. Scruggs smiled. Maybe a third-grader had entered the competition and won. All the Fund's work had gone into making a huge bat for veterans. Maybe it symbolized a boomerang—the names of dead GI's bouncing back right in front of the White House and Congress—where it had all begun.

Silence hit. One second. Two seconds. Three seconds.

Wheeler felt the confusion around him. It was hard to envision the

pastel sketches as finished stone. But he began to see it: massive, longer than a football field. Every name. *Every* name.

The moment was slipping away. It was time for commitment. "This is a work of genius," Wheeler said.

The group applauded.

Jury chairman Grady Clay had joined Spreiregen in explaining the winner: "Of all the proposals submitted, this most clearly meets the spirit and formal requirements of the program. . . . This memorial with its wall of names becomes a place of quiet reflection and a tribute to those who served their nation in difficult times. . . . All who come here can find it a place of healing. . . . The designer has created an eloquent place where the simple setting of earth, sky, and remembered names contains messages for all who will know this place."

Spreiregen pointed out that the honorable mentions came from a solid geographic cross-section of America—Iowa, Texas, Michigan, Arizona, California, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Minnesota, Indiana, Maryland . . .

The vets then asked some tough questions. How will GI's who did not die be honored? How will we explain this strange design to the public? How will it affect fund-raising? How much will it cost to construct?

The jurors worked hard to explain their decision. The design, they said, would stand the test of time. It was not a retreat to past notions of glory. It was not a *war* memorial; it was a memorial to honor service. But it would be controversial.

Some of the jurors' answers were were less than satisfying. The design, they said, was still at the idea stage. During "design refinement" the vets could make adjustments, such as adding an inscription to honor all of those who served.

The vets immediately recognized that they had a tremendous public relations problem. The drawings looked terrible. At least five minutes of explanation were necessary before the design could be understood. "If people say we're putting up a black hole," Wheeler warned, "we're going to get murdered."

"Great art is a complex matter," Clay responded. "All great works furnish material for endless debate. We are certain this will be debated for years to come. This is healthy and ought to be expected. All knowl-

edge cannot be self-explaining in two seconds."

The jurors thought one enemy lay waiting: government bureaucrats who would "chew up" the design during the approval process.

The vets had expected that the winner would be a prominent professional working with a prestigious firm. Doubek looked up Number 1026. "Maya Ying Lin." An Oriental name. She was 21 years old. She lived in New Haven, Connecticut. Wheeler recognized the address. An undergraduate residence at Yale.

Doubek shouted, "This started as one man's dream. Let's hear what he thinks."

Scruggs walked to the front. "Well," he said, "I really like it. It's a great memorial." He kept smiling as everyone clapped and cheered. But he was thinking, It's weird and I wish I knew what the hell it is.

The vets could have rejected the design. Or they could have told the jury, Thanks for your recommendation, we want to think about it. Instead, they voted unanimously to endorse the jury's action. Most were already convinced that they had a great work of art.

"Do you really think this thing is going to go over with the general public?" Scruggs whispered to John Woods.

"You would be surprised how sophisticated the general public really is."

"I sure as hell hope you're right."

BLACK GASH OF SHAME

The vets wanted a noncontroversial, apolitical memorial. Maybe this was naive. Vietnam had been America's most controversial, politicized war.

They wanted one memorial to "symbolize the experience of the Americans who fought in Vietnam." Maybe this was idealistic. Too many experiences were festering in too much leftover repressed emotion.

They wanted to list the dead. Maybe this was asking for unnecessary trouble. Any reminder that real people die in war inevitably angers those who see war as a playing field for heroes.

What they wanted had seemed so simple. Maybe too much blood had been shed for it to have worked out that way.

In any event, the controversy, predicted by Wheeler back in 1979, finally arrived.

The first rumblings had started close to home. Shortly after Maya Lin's first press conference, James Webb—who had considered himself unqualified to sit on the jury—said Maya Lin's design was unacceptable. "Why is it black?" he asked. "Why is it underground?"

Wheeler urged Webb to wait, "to give the design time to grow on you." Webb agreed.

That same week, a former VVMF volunteer named Tom Carhart —who had entered his own design in the competition—showed up. "Oh, boy," he said to Doubek, "what did you guys do?"

As soon as he left, Doubek dug out Carhart's entry. It showed an officer holding a dead young GI up to heaven as though in sacrifice. The officer was standing in a huge Purple Heart.

Wheeler, Mosley, and Carhart had been classmates at West Point. Carhart called Mosley. "I just can't live with this," he said. "There have been a lot of us who've been looking for a memorial to celebrate and glorify the Vietnam veteran."

Then, on September 18, 1981, the *National Review* called the Memorial "Orwellian glop."

"Okay, we lost the Vietnam War," the magazine said. "Okay, the thing was mismanaged from start to finish. But the American soldiers who died in Vietnam fought for their country and for the freedom of others and they deserve better than the outrage that has been approved as their memorial. . . . the Reagan Administration should throw the switch on this project, whether through executive action or a bill in Congress."

The *National Review* carried great weight with the so-called New Right—which included Interior Secretary James Watt and many members of Congress. What if they took the magazine's suggestion seriously? Congress could pressure Watt into killing the Memorial. Worse, Watt might not need much pushing. He considered himself a superpatriot. He was tough, and he was willing to cause controversy. He had already said in public that all U.S. citizens fell into two categories, "liberals and Americans." Thus, he might grandstand against liberal influence in the arts and insist upon an American memorial imbued with his views of patriotism.

The VVMF could have rallied its troops, most of whom believed that the Memorial was well on its way to a problem-free dedication in November 1982. Allies on Capitol Hill, in the White House, and in veterans organizations could have been alerted. The extensive network of vet volunteers could have been mobilized. But the VVMF, its overworked seven-person staff focusing on fund-raising and construction plans, did not launch a counteroffensive.

On October 13, 1981, the Fine Arts Commission was scheduled to review granite samples—a boring, routine, construction detail. When Fund officials arrived, they found the hearing room overflowing with journalists, including television camera crews. This was the first time television had covered any hearings involving the Memorial. The reason: Tom Carhart, wearing a three-piece suit with two Purple Hearts pinned on, was waiting to testify.

In his statement, Carhart called the Memorial "a black gash of

shame." The phrase had a nice ring to it, and numerous newspapers—including the *New York Times*—prominently reprinted portions of his testimony.

Fund officials tried to contain the damage. "There's a lot of anger and there's a shortage of things to show your anger about," Scruggs told reporters. "We get some of the misdirected anger."

It did not work. Journalists paid little attention to Scruggs, while Carhart received front-page treatment. It did not matter that Carhart represented only himself, or that he had waited for over six months to complain about a competition that he himself had entered and lost. Carhart was creating news: angry Vietnam vet against the art establishment; Vietnam veterans getting screwed again; an impending civil war among Vietnam vets. It made an interesting story. People who had never before heard about the Vietnam Veterans Memorial began to think it was a black gash of shame.

From a historical perspective, the criticism of Maya Lin's design followed a well-established pattern. "What is really fascinating about the history of monument building in this city," Benjamin Forgey wrote in the *Washington Post*, "is that in almost every case, whether the product resulted from a competition or a commission, certain clear divisions occur: Professional standards versus popular taste, modernity versus tradition, abstract symbolism versus realist representation."

In television appearances, newspaper interviews, visits to Congress, and telephone conversations with vets across the country, Fund officials tried to explain why criticism such as Carhart's was factually incorrect:

"The Memorial is below ground, denoting shame."

Not true. It will be cut in a hillside and will enjoy a clear line of sight to the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial. It will have a southern exposure, so it will be sunny all day. Lowering the wall makes it possible for everyone to read every name.

"There is no flag. This dishonors those who died fighting for that flag."

Most war memorials do not have flags.

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"It is black, a color of shame."

The Seabee and the Iwo Jima memorials have black granite, and no one says this denotes shame. White stone would not work, because visitors could not read the names, especially in the sunlight. As General William Westmoreland notes, "Polished black granite is more handsome than any other possible stone."

"It forms the antiwar 'V' peace sign."

This is not a "V." One arm of the Memorial will point toward the Lincoln Memorial; the other will point toward the Washington Monument. The angle is 125 degrees. No human hand could form a "V" at such an angle.

"It is a tombstone, honoring only those who died."

It will be contemplative, not death-oriented. The names of all 2.7 million who served cannot be engraved. Who would deny special treatment for those who died or remain missing? An inscription will honor all Vietnam vets.

"It is unheroic."

Heroism is in the eyes of the beholder. There is plenty of heroism in those names. Wait until you see them right there on the Mall with Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln.

"It should be representational."

Maybe. But a great nonrepresentational work of art emerged victorious from an extremely fair, open competition. Furthermore, the names are a representational symbol that everyone will understand and honor. The American people watched the Vietnam War on television. They do not need a representation of what they already know. They need something to help them see the veterans they have managed to ignore.

"The names on the wall will have no rank or service designation."

This is a memorial to human beings, not a military symbol. They are all Americans, and they all made an equal sacrifice to their country. No other designation is necessary.

"The word 'Vietnam' is not mentioned."

Incorrect. It will be prominently featured in an inscription.

"It will become the site of future antiwar demonstrations."

All demonstrations, pro- or antiwar, will be banned. It is a place to honor veterans.

WATT ACTS

Attacks continued throughout November and December.

Carhart circulated a memo within the White House and Interior Department carrying false charges that a member of the jury had been involved with communists.

Webb resigned from the National Sponsoring Committee and tried to get other vets to join him. Westmoreland refused, saying, "Beauty is in the eyes of the beholder."

Figuring that Webb must have written to every Vietnam vet on the Sponsoring Committee, Scruggs called former Admiral James J. Stockdale, who had been a senior American prisoner of war in Vietnam and had received the Congressional Medal of Honor. They had talked several times before. Stockdale had been nice, but always too busy to learn more about the Memorial or to offer anything but his name on the letterhead.

"Admiral, I realize that you've received Webb's letter," Scruggs said. "It is unfortunate that there is disagreement about the design, but I'd like to explain."

Build the Memorial rising and white, Stockdale said. Make it inspiring.

Scruggs tried to explain the beauty of polished black granite and that the Memorial would not be hidden underground.

The telephone went dead. James Stockdale, who had endured years of North Vietnamese torture in the name of freedom, had hung up on him.

Only Stockdale joined Webb. Gerald Ford, Rosalynn Carter, Bob Hope, Nancy Reagan, Jimmy Stewart, William C. Westmoreland, and every other member of the National Sponsoring Committee remained firmly on the side of the Memorial.

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It was a strange public relations war. Opponents found sanctuary in faceless rumor and innuendo. Denials, no matter how well documented, only escalated the conflict.

The press played an important role. Vets attacking the Memorial were big news; vets explaining and praising it were boring. A Vietnam vet on the West Coast suggested that the Memorial should be a three-story black plastic M-16 rifle stuck upside down in the ground. Although he had no artistic credentials and no backing, newspapers across the country carried his smiling picture. Likewise, the *Washingtonian* magazine gossip page referred to "Vietnam, America's most unpopular war and the nation's most divisive monument."

Although the vets restrained their desire to counterattack, eloquent voices spoke out in defense of Maya Lin's design. "It is a pity that this voluntary undertaking should recently have been slowed by controversy over the memorial design," wrote syndicated columnist James J. Kilpatrick. "Let me venture my own opinion. This will be the most moving war memorial ever erected."

Washington Post critic Wolf Von Eckardt wrote, "Carhart . . . says the jury should have consisted of war veterans, as if a beauty contest should be judged only by beauties . . . those bothered by abstract design might consider that grand obelisk, the Washington Monument. We have come to love it. Someday the Vietnam Memorial, too, may win the hearts and minds of the American people."

A *National Review* article denounced that magazine's "premature evaluation" of the Memorial. It will be "beautiful, imposing, and fitting," the article concluded.

The most meaningful statements of support continued to come from the American people. Veterans organizations sponsored bingo games, bake sales, garage sales, dinner dances, and other activities that generated millions of dollars. Hundreds of thousands of veterans and their families had been exposed to considerable adverse publicity about Maya Lin's design, and yet they continued to donate their time and their dollars.

A retired Army colonel raised $819 from pledges after running the New York City Marathon. He wore a camouflage T-shirt reading "Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund" and was cheered along the entire 26-mile 385-yard route. An unemployed Vietnam vet studied Maya Lin's design and then mailed in $65. VA hospitals and vet centers conducted "pass the helmet" fund-raising campaigns.

In Mattoon, Illinois, under the guidance of 86-year-old World War I veteran Alf Thompson, over 1,500 people participated in a two-hour parade that honored Vietnam veterans. Scruggs served as parade marshal. Afterwards, he was the featured guest at a VFW lunch. Three Vietnam vets were there, and all expressed support for the Memorial. "Everything that Vietnam touches seems to go sour," one said sadly. "I may never have the money to get to D.C., but it would make me feel good to know that my buddies' names are up there." Parents of a dead Vietnam vet also shook his hand. "Don't let them stop you, Jan," the father said. "Those folks in Washington are always fooling around with anything good. Don't let 'em do it this time."

The most tense time in fund-raising came in October. Small donations continued to come in, but Sandie Fauriol had expected corporate donations in the $50,000 range.

She examined the mail every day, looking for the large envelopes that would include corporate checks. There were only smaller personal envelopes. Had the controversy cut off corporate funds? Finally, in December, the big envelopes started to arrive. Many of America's most prestigious corporations—including Getty Oil, LTV, AT&T, Rockwell International, Aetna Life Insurance, Boeing, Exxon, MCA, Time Inc., American Express, and Pepsico—sent sizable checks.

On December 22, the Veterans of Foreign Wars held a press conference at the National Press Club in Washington to present a four-foot-long check for $180,000. An opponent of the Memorial had warned VFW officials that "you'll lose every Vietnam veteran member if you give the Fund money." But the VFW did not like to be threatened; its officials also knew that the membership supported Maya Lin's design. To make its position absolutely clear, VFW national commander Arthur J. Fellwock flew in to personally present the check.

Former Pittsburgh Steeler football star Rocky Bleier also participated. Bleier had served as a grunt in Vietnam, where he was wounded in both legs. Doctors had said he'd never walk normally again. But he fought back, and had been a star running back on the 1975 Super Bowl winner.

Scruggs picked Bleier up at the airport right before the press conference. The 200-pound former private hugged the former corporal, who was now down to 140 pounds. "What the hell are you letting those guys do?" Bleier asked. "Let's go get 'em."

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After the press conference, Doubek led the way as two men carried out a new six-by-seven-foot model used to explain the Memorial. As he walked past two swinging doors, a camera crew waved for him to step aside. They were waiting for someone important.

Doubek recognized who it was. Henry Kissinger.

The former Secretary of State already had his overcoat on and seemed in a hurry. "What's that?" he asked Doubek.

"That's a model for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial."

"Is that the design that's causing all the controversy?"

Doubek started to say, It's not really controversial, but he stopped himself. "Yes, that's the one."

"Well, how does it go?"

Using the model, Doubek described how the names would be inscribed and how the walls would be situated between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument.

"It's very moving," Kissinger said.

Two days later, a personal check from Kissinger for $500 arrived.

One individual, James Watt, continued to hold life-or-death power over the Memorial.

VFW executive director Cooper T. Holt, one of Washington's smartest political observers, called Scruggs with a warning: Ronald Reagan's people could not satisfy some of his conservative supporters on abortion and school prayer. With congressional elections scheduled in less than a year, the White House just might throw them a bone—the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

In late December, conservative Republican congressman Henry Hyde of Illinois, a prominent spokesman for right-wing causes, launched what he called his "Christmas offensive." Along with 27 colleagues he signed a letter to all Republicans in the House asking that they write to President Reagan requesting that Interior Secretary Watt not grant construction approval for the Memorial.

Reporters called Scruggs for a comment. "What all this goes to prove," he said, "is that this country is not recovered from the war. When people start ganging up on a guy who's just trying to honor Vietnam veterans, I think it's a lot more than aesthetics. It shows we need to do a lot more healing."

At a late December VVMF board meeting, Don Schaet suggested

that when the Memorial was ready for dedication, a national salute to Vietnam veterans should be held. It would have a parade and days of festivities.

Everyone got excited. A cleansing ritual. A welcome home to the warriors. A way to diffuse grief by special remembrance of the dead. A celebration of life. A public opportunity for the country to show its feelings.

"Why talk about a national salute when there might not be a memorial?" someone asked.

"There will never be another time in history when we have this opportunity," Wheeler said. "The Memorial can be dedicated right on schedule—November 1982."

They were buried in negative publicity. And some of the nation's most powerful political figures seemed poised to destroy their memorial. Yet the board voted unanimously to hold a parade on November 13, 1982, honoring all Vietnam veterans.

On January 4, 1982, a letter from Watt arrived. In technical legal language, its message was clear. Watt had put the Memorial on hold until further notice.

Late one night, Scruggs went to the Mall and walked up to the statue of Abraham Lincoln.

They were losing their memorial. How did it happen? The competition had been fair. No one had complained. The jury had done a good job. After the negative publicity, art critics had gone back and examined all 1,421 entries. They had concluded that Maya Lin's was by far the most brilliant.

An angry group of less than a dozen men wanted to politicize the Memorial. It was easier to destroy than to create. Much easier. Wheeler had once remarked that a few angry men could shape history through their will to destroy. Look at what had happened to Lincoln. The dream of a memorial was about to die.

Scruggs looked up at Lincoln. The Civil War had been America's bloodiest conflict, and yet this memorial carried no sense of violence. It was nonpolitical. Nothing favored the North or the South. Nothing said that slavery was morally wrong. Or that the Civil War was right. Like Maya Lin's design, it provided a sense of history, it was simple, and it relied on words. People could read Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and

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Second Inaugural Address, think about the words, stand quietly, and let the feelings flow. They could come away different than when they arrived.

Maya Lin's design would do the same thing. Its words were the names. Even those who wanted glory had only to pick a name at random. Who could deny the glory in a young man willing to risk—and give—his life for his country?

The American people would not tolerate censorship. They would not permit anyone to tell them what to think—particularly about anything as important as all those young soldiers who died in Vietnam.

The Memorial would be built. Let the American people come here with their children. Let the children ask tough questions. Who were those people whose names we're seeing? What did they do? What does it mean?

THE CONSTRUCTION PERMIT

A White House aide who attended the January 27 meeting concluded in his official summary that "there is no reason to hold up the plan to break ground by March 1."

Opponents felt otherwise. Some sensed that if the wall was completed before the statue, then the American people might see no need for a statue. Some were afraid that the VVMF would not honor its agreement, or that the Fine Arts Commission or National Capital Planning Commission would kill the statue and flag. After all, the Fine Arts Commission in its original July 1981 approval of Maya Lin's design had warned that its "essential simplicity [should] be kept" and that "there should be no obtrusive visual elements." Others hated Maya Lin's design so much that they wanted to kill it through endless delays.

Anti-Memorial pressure continued. A letter to Watt signed by Henry Hyde and over three dozen other representatives, for example, called her design a "black ditch."

Memorial supporters did not remain inactive. A telegram to Watt from the VFW's national commander read: "Our nation has never given the honor and respect due Vietnam veterans. Now the nation is giving them respect, and I urge you to do the same by approving this Memorial."

American Legion national commander Jack W. Flynt flew to Washington for the sole purpose of meeting with Watt to discuss groundbreaking for the Memorial. He reported that a sampling of 200 Vietnam veteran Legionnaires, all with distinguished military and civilian records, found that *all* overwhelmingly supported groundbreaking. "The American Legion is hardly a hotbed of flag-burning or veteran-snubbing, so you'd think any U.S. War Memorial that could pass the Legion's muster would be pretty good," read a *Baltimore Sun* editorial. "Let's get on with it."

On February 4, the vets met with Watt to report progress. The Secretary congratulated them on the compromise and said he was now "inclined" to approve groundbreaking. He also said that the design was "a terrible political statement."

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After leaving Watt's office, Scruggs showed Watt's press secretary a statement that he planned to issue to the wire services. The press secretary approved it, and UPI and Associated Press quickly carried a story quoting Scruggs as saying that Watt "just agreed to let us begin construction." The stories also had an ad lib quote from Scruggs: "Bring on the bulldozers."

Late that afternoon Scruggs received a call from Watt. "You're worse that the environmentalists," Watt screamed. "What's this crap about bulldozers on the Mall? I can just see what the environmentalists will do with that."

"Well, you could just blame it on me."

Scruggs's comment only seemed to incense Watt. The screams came faster and at a higher pitch. "There are two hundred ways that I can kill that design and I am tempted to prove that to you." Watt was a wild man —and he held life-and-death power over the Memorial.

One week later, the VVMF sent Watt a letter reaffirming their commitment to the compromise and documenting that they had enough money to complete construction. "We respectfully request your formal approval . . . so that we may proceed to break ground on schedule during the first week of March."

Monday. Tuesday. Wednesday. No answer from Watt. The March 1 deadline was slipping away. The VVMF called Interior. Watt and his aides never called back. The American Legion called Watt. Still no response. One of the basic rules in Washington is that when a group as powerful as the Legion calls, you at least listen politely. Watt just let the message slips pile up. On Friday, February 19, the VVMF called Watt again and again. If the March 1 groundbreaking was to occur, a construction permit was needed right away.

"If that son of a bitch doesn't give us a construction permit, we'll go after him," Scruggs told VVMF staff members. "We'll have a press conference and bring in Gold Star Mothers, the VFW, the American Legion. He'll wish he had a thousand environmentalists on a hunger strike outside Interior. We'll give a 'Vets for Jim Watt's Resignation' rally."

"We have been set up," Wheeler said. "Something's wrong at Interior."

Four o'clock came, then five. They waited until six-thirty, and went home feeling defeated. Another week had gone by with no response from

Watt. Something was up. Someone had gotten to him. On February 25, Watt wrote to the Fine Arts Commission and the National Capital Planning Commission saying, in effect, "I won't give a construction permit until you approve the statue and flag."

Two days later, the *Washington Post* reported: "Supporters of the Memorial had hoped to have it completed in time to be dedicated on Veterans Day, November 11, but that now seems unlikely."

Scruggs called Elliot Richardson, one of the capital's most respected public figures. The former Secretary of Defense, who had won two Purple Hearts during World War II, had been helping the VVMF with political advice and fund-raising contacts. "Watt may be playing games with you," Richardson said. "This may be a delay designed to be permanent. This may be the right time to fight Watt, but be very cautious. A wrong move could cause an irretrievable loss. Be mindful of the discretion given Watt under your legislation. Build up a record of reasonableness in your dealings with him. Do everything you can to avoid a fight, but remember the principle of time on target."

Time on target. Richardson was going back to his military days. It meant that all fire—mortars, artillery, planes, everything—strikes a designated target at the same moment, giving your enemy little time to take cover or to fire back.

"What will happen if it comes to that?" Scruggs asked.

"I'll be with you all the way. Call me at home any time."

On March 1, the originally scheduled day of groundbreaking, the VVMF board of directors held an emergency meeting. They still had no groundbreaking permit. Scruggs, Doubek, and a few others wanted to declare all-out war on Watt—let the country know that he alone was stopping the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Too much had been happening behind the scenes.

Wheeler disagreed. "We could go for the kill," he said. "But if the Memorial is going to stand for healing, then we can't breathe hate into it. We'll get the statue approved, and prove to Watt that we keep our promises. That's the best way to honor vets."

The Board voted to follow Wheeler's and Richardson's advice. They would avoid a fight, while working hard to obtain approval from the Fine Arts Commission and the National Capital Planning Commission for the statue and flag.

That night, Wheeler arrived home around midnight. His wife was

up. Six years earlier, their daughter, Katie, had been born with a partially unformed trachea, possibly a result of his exposure to Agent Orange during service in Vietnam. She had to sleep every night attached to an electronic alarm designed to ring if she stopped breathing. Tonight the alarm was not working. Wheeler wrapped a blanket around himself and pulled a chair up to her bed. He would keep watch.

Katie was a strong and courageous little girl, full of humor, a perfect reminder that battles over a memorial had to be kept in perspective. But by the time dawn broke, Wheeler had repeatedly replayed the board's decision not to fight back. The VVMF was giving extra time and opportunity to those who were so passionately commited to killing Maya Lin's design. That decision, no matter how idealistic, still seemed correct. Its dangers, however, were obvious. In life, the good guys did not always win.

Three days later, on March 4, the National Capital Planning Commission approved the statue and flag, in concept, but warned that these additions must "be located and designed so as not to compromise or diminish the basic design of the memorial as previously approved."

In its report to Watt, the National Capital Planning Commission indicated it would have preferred *no* additions to Maya Lin's design, but that it was responding to the political situation.

Five days later, on March 9, the Fine Arts Commission similarly approved the statue and flag, in principle.

Although approval for a statue that had not been designed was highly unusual, Watt *still* did not issue the construction permit. Then the VVMF understood: The second meeting—to select the statue—was scheduled for March 11. The Memorial's opponents had obviously persuaded Watt to wait until after this meeting. If they did not get their way, they would have him kill the Memorial.

Ross Perot sat next to Scruggs when the meeting began, and shortly made it clear that, once again, he controlled the majority. The VVMF had walked into another ambush.

By voice vote, the agenda was quickly changed. Instead of reviewing 80 slides of statues that had been submitted as part of the original design competition, the meeting focused on where to put the flag and statue. This was at best silly. Only the Fine Arts Commission and National Capital Planning Commission had power to choose a location for the flag and statue. But the debate went on for hours.

Architect Kent Cooper argued that there was no need to "adorn the Memorial with patriotic claptrap." He tried to explain that the American flag was too powerful a symbol to be located too close to the wall. Not realizing that politics had long since replaced art as the chief battleground, he called the flag, in architect's jargon, "a long stringy object."

This only enraged people like Sybil Stockdale, wife of the former POW who had resigned from the VVMF. "Let's put art where it belongs," she said. "In the art museums."

Maya Lin stood silently in the back of the room. She looked small and out of place in a room full of swearing vets.

At one point, Warner asked her, "What do you think of the ideas on placement being discussed?"

She could have said, The statue is a ridiculous idea, or, You'll never get away with it, or, I'll fight you all the way and you'll lose.

But she was in an alien environment, without allies, facing people whose passions sometimes made them seem to verge on violence. Her voice sounded timid. "If you're going to do this," she said, "it should be done in an integrated, harmonious way."

When someone made a motion to throw out Maya Lin's design and start over again, Perot silently shook his head no, and the motion was defeated. But by voice vote, the opponents backed a motion to have the flag at the center of the two walls, with the statue somewhere in the triangle formed by the walls.

At Perot's suggestion, a majority also agreed to form an ad hoc committee to choose the statue.

Design opponent Milt Copulos wrote in a newspaper article, "Something remarkable happened. Veterans split over the issue realized that the project was in jeopardy, and chose to set aside their preconceptions and come together in an effort to develop a consensus. . . . Some might argue that these changes are mere symbols, and hardly worth the pain and anguish they caused. But soldiers fight for symbols—symbols that embody the principles in which they believe.

"Pain, however, is often a necessary part of healing, and in a very real sense, the healing process for the wounds of Vietnam began. . . . The wall of the memorial could have been a wall between us. Instead, it became a bridge."

Some people, however, still tried to convince Watt *not* to issue a

construction permit. They wanted approval from the Fine Arts Commission and the National Capital Planning Commission for specific placement of the statue and flag before a construction permit was issued. Others obviously still wanted to kill Maya Lin's design. An assistant secretary of Interior, for example, told Doubek that he'd been informed it would be criminal to issue a permit for the wall of names.

Scruggs went to see Senator Warner, the man who had forged the compromise. "It's now or never," Scruggs said. "We've got to have that permit."

"We'll get it," Warner said. He grabbed Scruggs's arm. "Once those shovels are in the ground, this episode is over."

Telephone lines connecting Congress, the White House, and the Interior Department were put to heavy use. Washington's power brokers were once again assessing whether the Vietnam vets should be given their memorial.

The moment of truth had arrived. "What Arthur Miller said of people in his play *After the Fall* seems equally true of nations," Vietnam vet Joseph Zengerle wrote in the *Washington Post.* " 'One must finally take one's life in one's arms.' "

At 11:00 A.M. on Monday, March 15, Doubek called from the National Park Service headquarters. "I've got it," he said. "I've got the damned permit!"

Everyone at the office cheered. Wheeler brought over a bottle of champagne. When it was empty, he reminded everyone that Watt still could be persuaded to revoke the permit. "Get the construction crews on the site," he said. "Now!"

The construction foreman was a combat vet. He stood with Scruggs out on the Mall.

"Do you know what it looks like after a B-52 raid?" Scruggs asked.

"I know a little about that."

Scruggs nodded toward the beautifully manicured grass where the Memorial would stand.

"Can you make this look like one of those raids? Can you give us a lot of holes all over the place that no one could ever fill?"

The foreman smiled. "Sure. I've had plenty of practice."

If Watt ever tried to revoke the construction permit, he would have a lot of explaining to do.

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Epilogue

IN EARLY 1983, government commissions decided to put the statue and flag in an entrance plaza leading to the wall. The flag began flying from its 60-foot staff in mid-1983. At its base are emblems of the five services. The statue was installed on Veterans Day 1984.

Lights, five permanent name-location guidebooks, and an expanded walkway have been added.

The Memorial now belongs to the U.S. government. Over 650,000 people paid for it with their private contributions.

As work was completed, some of the opponents publicly accused the VVMF of financial impropriety, a charge repudiated by a major federal audit of Fund records. Opponents also tried unsuccessfully to get Congress to pass a law placing the statue in front of the walls. They may forever continue their war on Maya Lin's design. Somehow their anger about the Vietnam War, rather than turning toward healing, seems transformed into permanent hatred.

Over five million people visited the Vietnam Veterans Memorial during its first two years. It is the second most visited memorial in the nation's capital. On some days, over 20,000 people come. Late at night, at dawn, someone is *always* there.

Most visitors touch the wall or hug each other. They linger and talk,

and carry part of it away with them. *U.S. News & World Report* called it in late 1983, one year after its dedication, "the most emotional ground in the nation's capital."

Black granite does not wear out. Hundreds and thousands of years from now, people can still touch the names.

People are awed, perhaps most of all, by its reflectiveness. Jack Wheeler, in a prayer on Veterans Day 1983, said:

> Who among us
> was not touched,
> or even wounded, in some way by the Vietnam War?
> The walls shine like mirrors.
> So we begin to see hurts inside us, too,
> when we see our own reflections
> in the walls.

The Memorial does not dictate any emotion or political view. The more you look, the more you'll see.

Is healing happening?

If so, Vietnam vets have led the way.

Is it helping Vietnam vets?

The country can no longer ignore them.

Is it helping nonvets?

They now know that healing begins only when you look deeply into yourself and when you honor those who have suffered on your behalf.

Is America more at peace with its own history and better able to control its future?

Americans are learning that to forget too easily only increases pain and invites repetition of past mistakes.

F. Scott Fitzgerald once wrote, "Show me a hero and I will write you a tragedy."

Maybe Vietnam vets are forever condemned to be the most tragic of all heroes—those whose bravery was wasted.

"No!" the Memorial shouts. "It must not be." The names rise from the earth. Even on the coldest days they are somehow warm. They speak. To their buddies. To their wives and children. To mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters. To all young Americans who must prepare for future wars.

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To all the politicians.
To all the generals.
To everyone who tries to understand:

. . . We were young. We have died. Remember us.

. . . We have done what we could but until it is finished it is not done.

. . . We have given our lives but until it is finished no one can know what our lives gave.

. . . Our deaths are not ours; they are yours; they will mean what you make them.

. . . Whether our lives and our deaths were for peace and a new hope or for nothing we cannot say; it is you who must say this.

. . . We leave you our deaths. Give them their meaning.

We were young. . . . We have died. Remember us.

DAVE DURENBERGER
MINNESOTA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

February 16, 1988

Mr. John Wheeler
Chairman of the Board
Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund

Dear Mr. Wheeler,

I am writing regarding an issue of great importance to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund -- the proposed Vietnam Women's Memorial. As you may know, I have introduced legislation that would authorize the construction of a statue of a female Vietnam Veteran at our nation's Vietnam Veterans Memorial. This legislation -- S. 2042 -- currently has more than 40 Senate co-sponsors and will be the subject of hearings before the Energy and Natural Resources' Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests on February 23, 1988.

I am aware of the central role your organization had in the establishment of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial under the provisions of Public Law 96-297. I am also aware of the VVMF's position concerning design changes in the Memorial. In light of these historical and legal considerations, and in light of the fact that the VVMF is specifically mentioned in S. 2042, I respectfully request that you make every effort to testify during the February 23, 1988 hearing.

In my view, it is imperative that my colleagues on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee receive the benefit of your insight and expertise on this issue. In order to proceed in a deliberative and thorough manner, it is vital that the Senate hear testimony from the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund.

As you know, I am a strong supporter of the proposed Vietnam Women's Memorial. I want to insure that hearings on S. 2042 include testimony from the organization most responsible for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

Dave Durenberger
United States Senate

DD/rjs

A 12 by 18 foot flag flies at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial 24 hours a day. The flagpole is located just a few feet from the statue of the "Three Servicemen" and near the walkway leading to the Memorial walls. The base of the flagpole has an inscription and the emblem of the five U.S. military services, and was designed to be placed for public viewing.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much.

Let me say that you made a couple of points there that, interestingly enough, Mrs. Bumpers made at breakfast this morning, and that was, I might say that she favors this bill.

[Applause.]

Senator BUMPERS. But the point she was making this morning is that it is symbolic for the children of this country, that it means a great deal so far as women are concerned, from that standpoint. Plus the other very gripping point you made, that these nurses were often the last person a dying man had an opportunity to talk to, which is indeed a very good point.

Mr. Wheeler, your testimony has been very good and thoughtful, and we appreciate very much you being with us.

Mr. WHEELER. Senator, you asked one question about people who died of wounds, particularly the gentleman that you mentioned.

Senator BUMPERS. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. All right. If someone dies of wounds and that is verified as a direct death caused by wounds by the VA——

Senator BUMPERS. By the attending physician?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes. Then that person goes on the wall, and some of the names that we add are people who died of wounds. And we think we will be doing that all the way up to——

Senator BUMPERS. How many names were added last year, Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. WHEELER. I do not know the answer. It is something like 75 or 80 names. I know that there may be people in the room who have that answer. But by now we have added something like 200 names to the Memorial.

Some of those are people that we did not know had been killed in action. Some of them are people who were killed in aircraft accidents, and some of them are people who died of wounds.

Now, there are 300,000 men who were wounded and not all of them will die as a result of wounds, and it is simply not possible for us to add 300,000 names to the Memorial.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you again very much, Mr. Wheeler, for coming.

Our next witnesses consist of our first panel: E. Philip Riggin, Director of the National Legislative Commission of the American Legion; James N. Magill, Director, National Legislative Service of the VFW; Richard Schultz, Associate National Legislative Director, DAV; Mary Stout, National President, Vietnam Veterans of America, Inc.; Donna-Marie Boulay, Chairman, Vietnam Women's Memorial Project; Evangeline Jamison, Walnut Creek, California; Karen Johnson, Esquire, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Now, members of this panel, we will start using our lighting system. Those of you who have testified here before are familiar with the lighting system.

And you are requested to summarize if you can. If you cannot, I understand. That is not easy to do when you have worked on testimony. I know that some of you have worked very hard to present thoughtful testimony. When I was Governor and first came up here to testify and they would tell me to summarize, I did not know what to do. So certainly I know how difficult that is sometimes.

But we are going to limit testimony to five minutes, which was understood beforehand. Everybody knows that, and we hope you can get it all in, in that length of time.

And I am going to take you here just as you are on my list. Mr. Riggin, please proceed.

STATEMENT OF E. PHILIP RIGGIN, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION, THE AMERICAN LEGION

Mr. RIGGIN. Mr. Chairman, we certainly will observe your time constraints and we will fall well within that 5-minute limit.

The American Legion does welcome the opportunity to present its views on legislation to authorize the construction of a statue at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in recognition of women who served in the Vietnam War. We support the bill under consideration, S. 2042.

Our support of this undertaking is an extension of our support for the Memorial itself. As you may know, the American Legion raised more than one million dollars for the Memorial's construction back in the early 1980's. Virtually all of this money consisted of small contributions from thousands of our members, as well as other concerned Americans.

Previous expressions of support for the current initiative by our organization have been in various forms. Following the adoption in 1985 of the resolution endorsing this idea, our national commander in July of 1987 reaffirmed that position in a letter to President Reagan. Similar expressions were subsequently presented to the Interior Secretary and to the Fine Arts Commission.

Mr. Chairman, S. 2042 is very precise in stating its purpose and in our opinion it accommodates the normal approval mechanism for projects of this type. We feel that section 2 of the bill is particularly clear in communicating the sense of Congress by reaffirming what Congress intended with the enactment of Public Law 96–297.

We also note with some interest, Mr. Chairman, that there are currently 49 co-sponsors to this legislation in the United States Senate, and of course on this particular Subcommittee there are six co-sponsors. So we are very appreciative of the fact that this is a broad, bipartisan demonstration of support for this initiative.

We do urge the Subcommittee to approve S. 2042 and to report it favorably to the full Committee and subsequently for full Senate action, Mr. Chairman.

We would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much, Mr. Riggin.

Mr. Magill.

STATEMENT OF JAMES N. MAGILL, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE SERVICE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. MAGILL. Thank you, sir. We too will keep well within your request for the time constraints.

On behalf of the 2.9 million members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its Ladies Auxiliary, I wish to thank you for affording me this opportunity to present our views with respect to S. 2042,

the bill to authorize the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project to construct a statue at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

The VFW numbers about 600,000 veterans among its membership, and we are long on record as supporting the placement of a monument to the women who served in Vietnam on the grounds of the national Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The VFW, along with all of the other major veterans organizations, numerous members of Congress, and the Secretary of the Interior, strongly supported last year's efforts to complete the Veterans Memorial by the placement of a statue depicting a woman Vietnam veteran.

At this most reverent site, we believe that the statue should represent and honor all the women who served in Vietnam. It is our view that the legislation under discussion this afternoon, S. 2042, promotes the completion of the national Vietnam Veterans Memorial by expressing the strong support of Congress to complete the Memorial with a statue of a woman veteran.

It also provides for the approval process. And, as I have stated previously, this bill enjoys the support of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Magill follows:]

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

STATEMENT OF

JAMES N. MAGILL, DIRECTOR
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE SERVICE
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE

WITH RESPECT TO

VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL

WASHINGTON, D. C. February 23, 1988

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

On behalf of the 2.8 million members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary, I wish to thank you for affording me this opportunity to present our views with respect to S. 2042, a bill to authorize the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc. to construct a statue at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in honor and recognition of the women of the United States who served in the Vietnam war. The VFW numbers about 600,000 Vietnam veterans among its membership, and we are long on record as supporting the placement of a monument to the women who served in Vietnam on the grounds of the national Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Thus, we are highly gratified to be called upon to take part in today's dialogue on completing the Vietnam Memorial with a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran.

★ WASHINGTON OFFICE ★
VFW MEMORIAL BUILDING ● 200 MARYLAND AVENUE, N.E. ● WASHINGTON, D. C. 20002 - 5799 ● AREA CODE 202-543-2239

It is the conviction of the Veterans of Foreign Wars that proper and appropriate recognition of the great service and sacrifice rendered on behalf of the nation by the 10,000 American women who served in Vietnam is long overdue. Despite the fact that these brave and selfless women voluntarily served in the Vietnam war, their contribution and sacrifice have yet to be fully acknowledged and properly commemorated by the nation. By and large, Americans do not appreciate that these women bore direct and immediate witness to the horrors of this war and that some even died as a consequence of their service.

The Vietnam Memorial, here in Washington, D.C., is both the locus and emblem of national healing with respect to the Vietnam war. It is the place where America, in a sense, may at last heal the terrible psychic wounds suffered through its involvement in this conflict while, at the same time, acknowledging and thanking those who served and hazarded all to preserve America's unique vision of liberty for all men. The Vietnam War Memorial is intended in spirit and by law to commemorate the men and women who served in Vietnam. But the goal of honoring all those who served has yet to be realized.

The VFW along with all of the other major veterans' organizations, numerous members of Congress and Secretary of Interior, Donald Hodel, strongly supported last year's efforts to complete the Vietnam Memorial by the placement of a statue depicting a woman Vietnam veteran on the grounds of the National Vietnam Veterans Memorial. We believe that this statue should represent and honor all women who served in Vietnam.

We, as well as numerous others, believe that it is most fitting and appropriate that a statue honoring and recognizing the women of the United States who served in the Vietnam war be constructed at the site of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial to help complete the process of recognition and healing for

the men and the women of the United States Armed Forces who answered their country's call to duty in Vietnam. It is our view that the legislation under discussion today, S. 2042, promotes the completion of the National Vietnam Veterans Memorial by expressing the strong and unified support of the Congress and, indeed, the nation to complete the memorial with the statue of a woman veteran. It also provides a clear timetable for the approval process. Therefore, this bill enjoys the support of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

In conclusion, I reiterate that the placement of a statue representing and honoring the women who served in Vietnam on the grounds of the National Vietnam Veterans Memorial enjoys the support of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It is our belief that this would complete the memorial and that this statement of gratitude to both the men and women who served is long overdue.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my testimony and I will be happy to respond to any questions you may have.

Resolution No. 301

RECOGNIZE THE WOMEN WHO SERVED IN THE VIETNAM WAR

WHEREAS, this is the 12th Anniversary of the ending of the Vietnam War and the women who served in the Vietnam War have not been fully recognized for their duty and sacrifices; and

WHEREAS, these women in uniform in all branches of service who served in the Vietnam War, many serving in combat areas, dedicating their lives to help our wounded and in many cases coming under direct fire and giving of their own lives or being wounded while trying to protect our wounded servicemen; and

WHEREAS, the servicewomen of the Vietnam War served in many varying occupations, many brought comfort and care to those who were dying of their wounds; and

WHEREAS, many of these women of the Vietnam War were decorated for their bravery and eight (8) servicewomen lost their lives while protecting and bringing medical care to our wounded; and

WHEREAS, both the 86th and 87th National Conventions of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States adopted resolutions supporting the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project; now, therefore

Resolution No. 301

Resolution No. 301 - Page 2 - Continued

BE IT RESOLVED, by the 88th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, that we continue to support the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project as a national project, to honor all servicewomen who served during the Vietnam War, which will complete the National Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Department of Interior, the National Capitol Planning Commission, the Commission of Fine Arts, (or Congress, if necessary), be encouraged to approve the needed land at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site in Washington, D.C., for the addition of a statue depicting a woman veteran.

Adopted by the 88th National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States held in New Orleans, Louisiana, August 14-21, 1987.

Resolution No. 301

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much, Mr. Magill.
Mr. Schultz.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD F. SCHULTZ, ASSOCIATE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR, DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

Mr. SCHULTZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

On behalf of the more than 1.1 million members of the Disabled American Veterans, especially the more than 300,000 disabled during Vietnam, I wish to thank you for the expeditious scheduling of this hearing on S. 2042.

Mr. Chairman, as you are aware, this measure was introduced as a result of the Fine Arts Commission's denial to place the statue of a Vietnam woman at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site here in Washington, D.C., and the DAV shares with the authors of this legislation our disappointment with that decision.

Mr. Chairman, in keeping with the fine tradition of women who served our nation during wartime, thousands of American women volunteered for military duty in Vietnam, eight names of whom appear on the wall at the Memorial here in Washington.

The military duties of these women were many and varied. However, most served in the medical corps.

The membership of the DAV at our most recent national convention approved the resolution in support of placing appropriate recognition in the form of a statue at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site.

Mr. Chairman, as a personal note, I would like to add that, as a disabled Vietnam veteran myself, I can say that had it not been for the thousands of women who had volunteered their services during Vietnam, especially those in the medical corps, there would be obviously more names on the wall at the Memorial here, and possibly my own. And I feel very strongly that the statue should be placed there.

And the membership of the DAV believes that S. 2042 is a fair and equitable approach to achieving this legislative goal.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Schultz follows:]

STATEMENT OF
RICHARD F. SCHULTZ
ASSOCIATE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR
DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS
NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS
OF THE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
FEBRUARY 23, 1988

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

On behalf of the more than 1.1 million members of the Disabled American Veterans and its Ladies' Auxiliary, I wish to thank you for the expeditious scheduling of this hearing on S. 2042 -- a measure authorizing the construction of a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran at the site of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Chairman, as you may know, the DAV was formed by a group of service-connected disabled World War I veterans. The membership ranks of the DAV are composed entirely of wartime service-connected disabled veterans (men and women) who were wounded, injured or otherwise disabled in service to our country.

S. 2042

Introduced on February 4, 1988, by Senators Durenberger and Cranston with 41 of their colleagues as original cosponsors, this measure authorizes the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc., to construct a statue at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington, D.C., in honor and recognition of the women of the United States who served in the Vietnam Conflict.

This legislation authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc. and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., and with the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, to select a suitable site

for the statue of a woman Vietnam veteran on the 2.2 acres of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site.

The design and plans for this statue are to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, all of whom must complete action on the plans and design within 90 days after they are received.

The legislation also directs the Secretaries of the Commissions involved, to give weighty consideration to the strong sense of the Congress that a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran should be constructed on the site of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, thus completing the Vietnam Veterans Memorial authorized by Public Law 96-297.

S. 2042 further stipulates that neither the United States or the District of Columbia shall bear any expense for the construction of this statue.

* * *

Mr. Chairman, as you are aware, S. 2042 was introduced as a result of the decision of the Fine Arts Commission denying the request of the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, Inc. to construct a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran on the grounds of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The DAV shares with the authors of this legislation and its many cosponsors disappointment with the Fine Arts Commission's rejection of this worthy project.

Our nation's history is replete with accounts of women serving America during time of war. Historically, however, women veterans have not received just recognition for their wartime sacrifices.

Since the early beginnings of our nation, women have served during armed conflict with dignity and honor. However, it was not until after World War II that women were fully accepted as members of our Armed Forces.

In keeping with the finest tradition of women serving our nation during time of war, thousands of American women volunteered for military duty in Vietnam -- eight names of whom appear on the wall at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington, D.C.

The military duties of the brave women, who volunteered to serve in one our nation's most controversial wars, were many and varied. Some women Vietnam veterans served in administrative roles supporting our fighting men in the field, however, most served in the medical corps providing critically needed care for wounded and dying combatants.

Mr. Chairman, as previously mentioned, the DAV's membership ranks are comprised of more than one million men and women who became disabled in service to America. These men and women, at our most recent annual National Convention, aware of the lack of recognition given the military service of women Vietnam veterans, unanimously approved a resolution supporting appropriate recognition of the military service performed by women during Vietnam. Therefore, the DAV supports S. 2042, as we believe it represents a fair and reasonable approach to achieving this worthy goal.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Subcommittee, your support of S. 2042 will demonstrate, in a most meaningful way, your commitment to assuring that our nation's women Vietnam veterans finally realize the degree of recognition they truly deserve, while at the same time maintaining the intregrity of the approval process whereby such memorials are judged.

This concludes my statement, Mr. Chairman, I will be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much.
Ms. Stout.

STATEMENT OF MARY R. STOUT, NATIONAL PRESIDENT, VIETNAM VETERANS OF AMERICA, INC.

Ms. STOUT. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to represent the membership of Vietnam Veterans of America on this important issue to honor the women who served during the Vietnam War.

Vietnam Veterans of America first became involved with this project in the summer of 1984, and it had the unanimous endorsement of our national board of directors at our convention in 1985. A resolution to call for the placement of a statue of a woman at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was unanimously voted upon by all of the delegates to our convention, and in 1987 that commitment was reaffirmed at our national convention.

The person most responsible, I think, for our involvement and understanding of the importance of this project, the person who has been the liaison to all of the veterans organizations here today, is Diane Evans. With your permission, sir, because we have all taken a very small amount of time, I would like to give Diane the opportunity to complete the statement for Vietnam Veterans of America, because her views are our views. Is that acceptable to you, Mr. Chairman?

Senator BUMPERS. For how long a time are we talking?
Ms. STOUT. A very short statement.
Senator BUMPERS. Sure.
[Applause.]
Senator BUMPERS. You ought to run for something.

STATEMENT OF DIANE EVANS, ON BEHALF OF THE VIETNAM VETERANS OF AMERICA, INC.

Ms. EVANS. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, my statement is very brief.

Our statue is for America, not for a special interest group, subgroup, or gender or profession, but for America, symbolizing the women who gave our country national security by giving it life, hope, compassion, and courage. Because of her love and concern for the soldier, let us give our statue to the American citizens asking and waiting for it, for healing, for history, and for honor.

Eleanor Roosevelt said: "We must do the thing we are afraid to do if we believe it is right." In Vietnam, we did what we were afraid to do. Now we are not afraid to do the right thing by fighting until the statue representing the women who served during the Vietnam War stands beside our soul mates, our brothers who served.

Mr. Chairman, the question must be answered: Who decides who America will remember? If it is the American people who decide, then we are truly a democratic nation.

Thank you.
[Applause.]
[The prepared statement of Ms. Stout follows:]

Vietnam Veterans of America, Inc
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STATEMENT OF

THE VIETNAM VETERANS OF AMERICA, INC.

Presented by

MARY R. STOUT
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

Before the

SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS

on

LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH A MONUMENT
COMMEMORATING FEMALE VIETNAM VETERANS
AT THE SITE OF THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL

FEBRUARY 23, 1988

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, the Vietnam Veterans of America appreciate this opportunity to present its views on the matter of honoring the women who served in the Armed Forces during the Vietnam war by erecting a statue of a female Vietnam veteran on the grounds of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (VVM). The Vietnam Women's Memorial Project (VWMP) has served sucessfully as the lightning rod in garnering broad based public support for the female veteran statue as a way of educating the public to the contributions and sacrifices of female veterans as well as for the purpose of completing the Vietnam Memorial itself.

As you know, this project has earned the support of all the major veterans organizations, including the Vietnam Veterans of America, Inc., the Secretary of Interior and the general public at large. With all of this support it came as a great disappointment when, on October 22, 1987, the Fine Arts Commission voted the projects proposal down.

We are aware of the reasons given by the Fine Arts Commission in handing down its decision, however, we disagree with those reasons. This is most especially true of the prospective view of the Fine Arts Commission that this particular statue proposal might be just one in a long line of future proposals for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. It is our view, in this connection, that no other additions to the Memorial are either desirable or appropriate.

In the original law allowing the creation of the Memorial, P.L. 96-297, it was intended that the men and women who served in the Vietnam war be honored and recognized. While it is argued by some that the "Wall" itself

already honors the women veterans who served in Vietnam, we contend that clear recognition, both physically and symbolically remains to be accomplished.

This sentiment was made abundantly clear by the emotional applause of the delegates to our 1985 Convention upon enacting the attached resolution supporting the statue proposal of the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project. The Convention floor speeches by Vietnam combat veterans in support of the resolution at the time it was adopted were replete with poignant references to the contributions of women in Vietnam who made the most cruel conditions bearable.

As the committee knows, the legislation introduced on Febraury 4, S.2042, by Senator Daniel Durenberger, Alan Cranston and many others represents the culmination of an agreement reached late last year in efforts to resolve the obstacles to a commemorative female veteran statue at the Memorial created by the Fine Arts Commission's decision. While we supported legislation, S.1896, offered by Senator Durenberger last year in the interest of solving the problem by over-riding the Fine Arts Commission, we have now decided to accede to the Women's Memorial Project leadership in supporting this year's legislation as an appropriate compromise. We are satisfied that the currently pending bill delicately balances the concerns of all interested parties by respecting the process for determining the siting and appropriatness of all future national commemorative memorials in Washington, D.C.

As such, under the new legislation, the Fine Arts Commission would

be given an opportunity to again review the proposed woman veteran statue. Similarly those among the public who both oppose and support the proposal would be given an additional opportunity to convince the Fine Arts Commission on the merits of the proposal.

Importantly, resolution of the issue would be put on an expidited timetable with a firm deadline in place by which time a decision must be made. Absent a decision within 90 days, approval would be deemed to have been given.

As we have said earlier in this statement, it is our firm belief that no additions should be made to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial apart from the proposed statue. The legislation provides for an expression of the sense of Congress that no other addition be made. We would prefer, however, to see this particular provision given the binding force of law.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes our statement.

The Vietnam Women's Memorial Project

"WHEREAS, the Vietnam Veterans of America recognizes the vital role of women who served their country during the Vietnam war; and,

WHEREAS, Vietnam Veterans of America is an organization composed of women and men who served their country during the Vietnam war; and,

WHEREAS, Vietnam Veterans of America is proud of the contributions and sacrifices its women members have made, and are continuing to make, for the betterment of Vietnam veterans,

WHEREAS, Vietnam Veterans of America realizes the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project statue is symbolic of the services and performance of all women who served their country during the Vietnam war,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that Vietnam Veterans of America endorses the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project as a way to honor all women who served during the Vietnam war; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that Congress be encouraged to appropriate the needed land at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site in Washington, D.C., by working through the Department of the Interior, the Fine Arts Commission, the National Park Service, the Department of National Memorials, and other necessary agencies; and,

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, that the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project symbolic statue to be erected at an appropriate site which will enhance the solemn nature of the Memorial."

Senator BUMPERS. I sure want you on my side, Diane.
Ms. Boulay.

STATEMENT OF DONNA-MARIE BOULAY, CHAIRMAN, VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL PROJECT

Ms. BOULAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As Chairman of the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, I promise to be brief, too. But I would like to leave some information in the record about the project, our education, and our research goals.

And I want to thank you very much for holding these hearings so early in 1988. I appreciate your decision and your staff's efforts.

And on behalf of the many men and women who wanted to testify before you today, I want to share with you why it is right and fair that our country should have a statue of a woman at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in our nation's capital.

As you can see on the display before you, we have listed 27 organizations representing millions of Americans who feel that women who served in Vietnam, who are Vietnam veterans, deserve a statue at the Vietnam Memorial.

I would like to introduce into the record samples of letters of support and resolutions. I certainly do not want to read them for you.

I also have with me the names of the women veterans who are part of the project. I am certainly not going to read those.

Mr. Chairman, people who serve in wars have unique experiences. War was never meant to be. War makes death. Day after day, even hour after hour, we lived and worked amidst the wounded, the dead, and the dying.

I arrived in Vietnam at the end of February 1967. A few days later I was assigned to triage for the first time. The medevac helicopters brought twelve soldiers into our emergency room. Ten were already dead. Two were bleeding to death.

Mr. Chairman, our daily duty was to care for the badly wounded, the young men whose legs had been blown off, whose arms had been traumatically amputated, whose bodies and faces had been burned beyond recognition.

We eased the agony of a young marine, his legs amputated, his wounds dangerously infected. We worked hard to stop the bleeding of a sailor who had been shot in his liver. He died three days after, in immense pain.

We cared for a young Army lieutenant from New York named Pat who had been admitted with a badly mangled leg and later evacuated to Japan, like many of the other seriously wounded soldiers we treated. I do not know whether Pat's leg was saved. I hope so. Pat was a good soldier.

Mr. Chairman, "Pat" is not short for "Patrick." Pat is a nurse. Patty was a nurse. She was stationed at the 24th Evacuation Hospital in Long Binh.

We were the first American women sent to live and work in the midst of guerrilla warfare. The month-long Tet offensive was especially frightening. The Viet Cong blew up the ammunition dump down the street, causing a wall in our unit to collapse on some patients.

VC snipers shot at us. The North Vietnamese Army artillery roared throughout the nights. Those of us not at work huddled in our bunkers, wondering if we would survive until dawn.

At work, listening to the thundering sounds around us, we tried to keep our hands from shaking, the fear out of our voices and off of our faces, so that the wounded would not see or hear it.

Women served in Vietnam in many capacities. We served as personnel specialists, journalists, clerk-typists, intelligence officers, and nurses. There was no such thing as a generic woman soldier, as there was no such thing as a generic male soldier. Men served as mechanics, engineers, pilots, divers, and infantrymen.

The design of the men's statue at the Veterans Memorial was selected, according to Frederick Hart, the sculptor, because they "depict the bonds of men at war and because the infantry bore the greatest burden."

Mr. Chairman, we are proposing that the design for the women's statue be that of a nurse who served in Vietnam. The statue of a nurse is so compatible with the existing trio of figures because the nurses' experience so closely parallels the experience of the infantrymen—the intensity, the trauma, the carnage of war.

The statue design which we are proposing is an easily recognizable symbol of healing and hope, consistent with the spirit and the experience of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Boulay follows:]

TESTIMONY SUBMITTED TO THE U.S. SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS
FEBRUARY 23, 1988
BY DONNA-MARIE BOULAY
511 ELEVENTH AVE. S.
MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55415

RE; S.2042

GOOD AFTERNOON MR. CHAIRMAN. MY NAME IS DONNA-MARIE BOULAY. I'M CHAIRMAN OF THE VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL PROJECT. I WANT TO THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR HOLDING THIS HEARING SO EARLY IN 1988. AND ON BEHALF OF MANY WOMEN AND MEN WHO WANTED TO TESTIFY BEFORE YOU TODAY, I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU WHY IT IS RIGHT AND FAIR THAT OUR COUNTRY SHOULD HAVE A STATUE OF A WOMAN AT THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL IN OUR NATION'S CAPITOL. AS YOU CAN SEE ON THE DISPLAY BEFORE YOU, WE HAVE LISTED ORGANIZATIONS, REPRESENTING MILLIONS OF AMERICANS, WHO FEEL THAT A WOMAN'S STATUE IS APPROPRIATE AT THE VIETNAM MEMORIAL.

MR. CHAIRMAN, PEOPLE WHO SERVE IN WARS HAVE UNIQUE EXPERIENCES. WAR WAS NEVER MEANT TO BE. WAR MAKES DEATH. DAY AFTER DAY, EVEN HOUR AFTER HOUR, WE LIVED AND WORKED AMIDST THE WOUNDED, THE DYING AND THE DEAD.

I ARRIVED IN VIETNAM AT THE END OF FEBRUARY, 1967. A FEW DAYS LATER I WAS ASSIGNED TO TRIAGE FOR THE FIRST TIME. THE MEDEVAC HELICOPTERS BROUGHT 12 SOLDIERS INTO OUR EMERGENCY ROOM. 10 WERE ALREADY DEAD. 2 WERE BLEEDING TO DEATH.

MR. CHAIRMAN, OUR DAILY DUTY WAS TO CARE FOR THE BADLY WOUNDED: THE YOUNG MEN WHOSE LEGS HAD BEEN BLOWN OFF, WHOSE ARMS HAD BEEN TRAUMATICALLY AMPUTATED, WHOSE BODIES AND FACES HAD BEEN BURNED BEYOND RECOGNITION.

WE CARED FOR A LITTLE BOY ABOUT 2 YEARS OLD. SOME G.I'S HAD FOUND HIM ON THE ROAD SIDE BLEEDING FROM A WOUND IN HIS ABDOMEN. WE NEVER KNEW WHO HE WAS, WHO HIS FAMILY WAS. HE DIED ANONYMOUSLY, NO NAME FOR HIS GRAVE.

WE EASED THE AGONY OF A YOUNG MARINE, HIS LEGS AMPUTATED, HIS WOUNDS DANGEROUSLY INFECTED.

WE WORKED HARD TO STOP THE BLEEDING OF A SAILOR WHO HAD BEEN SHOT IN HIS LIVER. HE DIED THREE DAYS AFTER IMMENSE PAIN.

WE CARED FOR A YOUNG ARMY LIEUTENANT FROM NEW YORK, NAMED PAT, WHO HAD BEEN ADMITTED WITH A BADLY MANGLED LEG AND LATER EVACUATED TO JAPAN LIKE MANY OF THE OTHER SERIOUSLY WOUNDED SOLDIERS WE TREATED. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER PAT'S LEG WAS SAVED. I HOPE SO. PAT WAS A GOOD SOLDIER. MR. CHAIRMAN, PAT ISN'T SHORT

FOR PATRICK. PATTI WAS A NURSE. SHE WAS STATIONED AT THE 24TH EVACUATION HOSPITAL IN LONG BINH.

WE WERE THE FIRST AMERICAN WOMEN SENT TO LIVE AND WORK IN THE MIDST OF GUERILLA WARFARE. THE MONTH LONG TET OFFENSIVE WAS ESPECIALLY FRIGHTENING. THE VIET CONG BLEW UP THE AMMUNITON DUMP DOWN THE STREET, CAUSING A WALL IN OUR UNIT TO COLLAPSE ON SOME PATIENTS. VC SNIPERS SHOT AT SOLDIERS IN CHOW LINES ACROSS THE STREET. THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY ARTILLERY ROARED THROUGHOUT THE NIGHTS. THOSE OF US NOT AT WORK HUDDLED IN OUR BUNKERS, WONDERING IF WE'D SURVIVE UNTIL DAWN. AT WORK, LISTENING TO THE THUNDERING SOUNDS AROUND US, WE TRIED TO KEEP OUR HANDS FROM SHAKING, THE FEAR OUT OF OUR VOICES AND OFF OUR FACES SO THE WOUNDED WOULDN'T SEE OR HEAR OUR FEAR.

WOMEN SERVED IN VIETNAM IN MANY CAPACITIES. WE SERVED AS PERSONNEL SPECIALISTS, JOURNALISTS, CLERK TYPISTS, INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS. AND NURSES. THERE WAS NO SUCH THING AS A GENERIC WOMAN SOLDIER, AS THERE WAS NO SUCH THING AS A GENERIC MALE SOLDIER. MEN SERVED AS MECHANICS, ENGINEERS, PILOTS, DIVERS. AND INFANTRYMEN. THE DESIGN OF THE MEN'S STATUE AT THE VIETNAM MEMORIAL WAS SELECTED ACCORDING TO FREDRICK HART, THE SCULPTOR, BECAUSE THEY " DEPICT THE BONDS OF MEN AT WAR" AND BECAUSE "THE INFANTRY BORE THE GREATEST BURDEN". MR. CHAIRMAN, WE ARE PROPOSING THAT THE DESIGN FOR THE WOMAN'S STATUE BE THAT OF A NURSE WHO SERVED IN VIETNAM. THE STATUE OF A NURSE IS SO COMPATIBLE WITH THE EXISTING TRIO OF FIGURES BECAUSE THE NURSES' EXPERIENCE SO CLOSELY PARALLELS THE EXPERIENCE OF THE INFANTRYMEN: THE INTENSITY, THE TRAUMA, THE CARNAGE OF WAR.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you, Ms. Boulay.
Ms. Jamison.

STATEMENT OF EVANGELINE JAMISON, LTC (U.S. ARMY, RETIRED), MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, VIETNAM WOMEN'S MEMORIAL PROJECT

Ms. JAMISON. Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman. My name is Evangeline Jamison, Lieutenant Colonel, United States Army Retired, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project.

I live in northern California and I am happy to tell you that I come here with the support of every friend I ever had, with a referendum from our board of supervisors in my county, the State Assembly. And the night before I departed, the City of Concord sent by a letter to you, which I would like to have——

Senator BUMPERS. Everybody in Arkansas lives in Concord, California now.

Ms. JAMISON. Well, I will have them help me with the project.

I should tell you that while growing up in Iowa I knew very little about the United States Army, until after December 7th, 1941. I had never heard of the Army Nurse Corps. But at that time, it seemed that every patriotic soul who was physically able was volunteering to serve this country.

And I was one of those who signed to serve, having no idea what would follow. The next 26 years of my life were devoted to care of the serviceman and his family. After completion of basic training in your state, Fort Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas, I served in Australia, New Guinea, and the Philippine Islands.

I was in Fort Monroe, Virginia, during the early days of the Korean War, when the young fathers, fathers of young families, were called upon to leave for Korea on sometimes as little as 24 hours notice. My shelters were used many times by the sobbing young pregnant wives, and I saw that it was part of my duty to comfort and encourage them to be brave for the sake of their husbands and their families.

They represented a cross-section of America and they were wonderful. I shall always love them.

Later on I served in Germany during the very tense time of the Berlin crisis, only to return home to be assigned to Fort Polk, Louisiana, during the Cuban crisis. The reason for this assignment was because Fort Polk was the closest Army hospital to Cuba, in the event that situation had blown up to become more serious.

Did all of this prepare me for Vietnam? I thought so, so I accepted the orders and departed from Travis Air Force Base, California, for Vietnam in November of 1966. But I now think there is no way to prepare people for daily terror.

Many of you witnessed the Vietnam War each day on television, but you were able to turn it off by the flick of a switch. We did not have that prerogative. The war went on day after day after day.

I recall arriving at Ton Son Nhut Air Base about 2:00 a.m., to the sight of flares and the sound of artillery fire. It was still very hot and sticky at that early hour, and the air was filled with the worst stench I have ever smelled in my life.

I was taken to a billet where I saw Vietnamese people sleeping curled up on the floor at the entrance of the building.

Later that day, I was driven by jeep out to the 93rd Evacuation Hospital in Long Binh, where I was assigned as a chief nurse. The hospital supported the First Infantry Division, the Big Red One, the 101st Airborne, the 199th Light Infantry Brigade, and the 9th Infantry Division down in the Mekong Delta.

I could never describe to you the horror that we witnessed each day when helicopters arrived bearing the broken and maimed bodies of our young and heroic men. It was not unusual for us to receive large numbers of patients less than an hour after they had taken fire—received their injuries, for those who do not understand me.

At no time do I recall having to send for extra help, as the staff just seemed to muster every time they knew of an influx of patients. No one could have asked for a more supportive staff.

Although more than 20 years have passed, I shall never forget taking my replacement, Colonel Mary McHugh, for an orientation tour of the hospital on the day of her arrival. As we approached the triage area, I could hear the sound of an approaching helicopter.

I remember saying to Mary: Now I can show you how we care for new casualties. We waited for the chopper to land, only to find that the cargo was body bags. In each of those bags was the body of a husband, father, son or brother.

So why do we need to complete the Vietnam Veterans Memorial? We need it for the women who were there and still cannot forget that year of their lives, in which each day seemed like a week.

We need it for the men, the Vietnam veteran who tell us constantly how much it meant to arrive at a hospital and see an American woman there to care for them.

We need it for the wives, mothers and children who lost a loved one, to remind them that someone was there who cared and in some cases was the last one to comfort and try to help those men we all dearly loved.

We need it for visitors to the Memorial, who may know very little about the Vietnam era of our history. It was a period shared by men and women who gave of themselves in full measure.

The veterans of this unpopular war were not treated very well by many of the citizenry upon their return. As a volunteer each week at the Concord, California, Vet Center, I meet those who are still trying to adjust to the emotional trauma they suffered.

The statue that we hope to place at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial will take up perhaps two square feet of the existing 2.2 acres, which has already been allocated. It is difficult for me, a veteran of three wars, to understand how anyone could think that this is too much to ask of the country for which we proudly serve.

Please treat us better than some of the citizenry did upon our return from Vietnam by allowing us to place our statue at the Memorial, where she rightly belongs.

And I thank you for your time.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Jamison follows:]

TESTIMONY SUBMITTED TO U.S. SENATE SUB_COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, FEBRUARY 23, 1988.

Good morning, Mr. Chairman"

My name is Evangeline Jamison LTC/USA/Ret. and a member of the Board of Directors of the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project.

I should tell you that while growing up in Iowa I did not think of or know very much about the United States Army and before December 7, 1941 had never heard of the Army Nurse Corps. After tht date every patriotic soul who was physically able seemed to be volunteering to serve this country and I was one of those who signed to serve, having no idea what would follow. The next twenty six years of my life were dedicated to the service of the military man and his family. After completion of basic training at Camp Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas, I served in Australia, New Guinea, and the Philippine Islands. I was at Ft. Monroe, Virginia during the early days of the Korean War when the fathers of young families were called upon to leave for Korea on sometimes as little as 24 hours notice. My shoulders were used many times by the sobbing young, pregnant wives and I saw it as part of my duty to comfort and encourage them to be brave for the sake of their men and children. I have always and will always love those families. They represented a cross section of America and they were wonderful. Later on, I served in Germany during the very tense time of the Berlin crisis only to return to Ft. Polk, Louisiana during the Cuban crisis. That assignment was due to the fact that Ft. Polk would have been the closest Army hospital if the situation in Cuba had blown up into something more serious.

Did all of this prepare me for Vietnam? I thought that it should and accepted the orders to depart from Travis Air Force Base, California, for Vietnam in November 1966. But I now think that there is no way to prepare people to endure daily terror. Many of you witnessed the Vietnam war each day on television but you were able to turn it off by the flick of a switch. We did not have that prerogative. The war went on day after day after day. I recall arriving at Ton Son Nhut Air Force Base in Saigon about 2 AM to the sight of flares and the sound of artillery fire. It was still very hot and sticky at that early hour and the air was filled with the worst stench that I've ever smelled in my life. I was taken to a billet where I saw Vietnamese people curled up asleep on the floor at the entrance of the building. Later that day I was driven by Jeep out to the 93rd. Evacuation Hospital in Long Binh where I was assigned as the Chief Nurse. The hospital supported the 1st. Infantry Division (the Big Red One), the 101st. Airborne, the 199th. Light Infantry Brigade and the 9th. Infantry Division down in the delta, if my memory serves me correctly.

I could never describe the horror that we witnessed each day when helicopters arrived bearing the broken and maimed bodies of our very young and heroic men. It was not unusual for us to receive large numbers of patients less than an hour after they had taken fire (received their injuries). At no time do I recall having to call in extra help, as the staff just seemed to muster when an influx of patients arrived. No one could have asked or wished for a more supportive staff.

Although more than twenty years have passed, I shall never forget taking my replacement, Col. Mary McHugh, who incidentally was a dear friend, for an orientation tour of the hospital on the day of her arrival. As we approached the triage area, I could hear the sound of an approaching helicopter and remember saying to Mary, "now I can show you how we care for new casualties". We waited for the chopper to land only to find that the cargo was body bags. In each of those bags was the body of a husband, father, son or brother.

So, why do we need to complete the Vietnam Veterans Memorial? We need it for the women who were there and still cannot forget that year of their lives in which each day seemed like a week. We need it for the men, the Vietnam Veterans, who tell us constantly how much it meant to arrive at a hospital and see an American woman there to care for them. We need it for the wives, mothers and children who lost a loved one, to remind them that someone was there who cared and in some cases were the last ones to comfort and try to help those men we all loved so dearly. We need it for visitors to the Memorial who may know very little about the Vietnam era of our history. It was a period shared by men and women who gave of themselves in full measure.

The veterans of this unpopular war were not treated very well by many of the citizenry upon their return. As a volunteer each week at the Concord, California Vet Center, I meet those who are still trying to adjust to the emotional trauma they suffered.

The statue that we hope to place at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial will take up perhaps two square feet on the existing 2.2 acres which has been allocated. It is difficult for me, a veteran of three wars, to understand how anyone could think that this is too much for us to ask of the country for which we proudly served. Please treat us better than some of the citizenry did upon our return from Vietnam by allowing us to place our statue at the Memorial where she so rightfully belongs. Thank you.

Senator BUMPERS. Karen.

STATEMENT OF KAREN K. JOHNSON, LITTLE ROCK, AR

Ms. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, my name is Karen Johnson. I am from Little Rock, Arkansas, where 80,000 Vietnam veterans live and work every day, where the state council of the Vietnam Veterans of America has——

Senator BUMPERS. Pull that microphone up, will you, please?

Ms. JOHNSON. Where the state council of the Vietnam Veterans of America have voiced their total support for this project, and where an insult against any veteran is an insult against all veterans.

I was born in Petersburg, Virginia. My father was in the military. He was killed in France on November the 11th, 1944.

I was raised in Oklahoma. I graduated from college in 1964 and explored the military as a career and joined the Army in 1965.

My family was very patriotic because of the trials and tribulations that we had to go through because of being raised without a father. Considering that everyone in my family had experienced all that patriotism, when I said that I was going to join the Army it was not a new thought, even though I was the first woman to have joined.

My family felt that all Americans owed their country any sacrifice needed for the national good, regardless of their race or sex, that patriotism should be a blind emotion, and it should be accepted by our country without any thought or qualm as to who offered such patriotism.

Consequently, after I served in Germany from 1966 to 1968, when my country asked me to go overseas again to Vietnam, I went. I served in Vietnam from July of 1970 to March of 1972, for a total of 20 months in country.

When I tell people these facts, they always ask me, was I a nurse, that I did not see any combat, and that I must have volunteered. When I tell them that I was awarded a Bronze Star, they ask me what for.

For 18 years I have answered these questions with several long-winded explanations which were really an apology for my Vietnam service, because I was not a nurse and I was not a combat soldier, and there were many others who had served who the public much better understood their service in their traditional roles.

I have kept silent on what I did in Vietnam because it was easier than making the apologies or trying to educate my listener. I know now that I have done many Vietnam veterans a great disservice by my silence. Thanks to the support of the Arkansas Vietnam Veterans, my husband and my grandchildren, I have made my last apology, felt my last twinge of embarrassment, and I will not remain silent to the detriment of my comrades in arms.

I am a veterans' veteran and I am proud of it. I was not a nurse. I saw very little full-fledged combat, and when my country called I went willingly. I see no disgrace in answering such a call or in volunteering to serve in the United States Army.

I served as the Command Information Officer of the United States Army, Vietnam Headquarters, located at Long Binh. Howev-

er, my job entailed finding out what Army troops were doing, photographing those troops, writing news reports, and printing the internal publications to keep the troops informed.

I could not do that from Long Binh. I traveled all over Vietnam. Wherever there were Army troops, I went, too. I have flown in attack helicopters, been shot at in jeeps, and I went over the Hay Van Pass in several convoys.

Whatever it took to get the news out to the troops is what I and my staff did, and we did it very well. "Uptight Magazine," one of our publications, was awarded the Thomas Jefferson Award for the outstanding military publication in its field, an award that was given to me by "Time Magazine."

Our office published a twice-daily news bulletin, a weekly Long Binh paper, the weekly "Army Reporter," "Uptight Magazine Quarterly"; and "Tour 364," the history of the war, was updated every six months so that troops rotating home had a written history of their service. We were also responsible for the free distribution of "Stars and Stripes" to ensure that every U.S. military personnel serving in Vietnam had daily access to a newspaper.

There were a lot of obstacles to resolve to make all of this happen. My staff made it happen every day for 20 months, in 12 hour shifts, seven days a week, including Christmas, when we worked harder because we were responsible for making Operation Jingle Bells work so that the troops could see Bob Hope.

I am here today to tell you that I am very proud of that staff, and especially of Spec. 5 Steven Henry Warner, who gave his life so the American soldier could be the best informed and most motivated soldier in the world. I do not believe they would want me to apologize for our service or the fact that Steve Warner gave his life as a journalist and not as a combat soldier.

If there is any apology owed, it is the one I owe my staff for not standing up for them for the last 18 years because I did not like the questions my admission to being a Vietnam veteran elicited because I was a woman, something not well understood by the American public.

Their service and mine should be given equal recognition with all who served, not diminished because of the non-traditional position I held.

I come before you today to ask you to legislate equal dignity for the women who served their country by answering the call to arms. The Vietnam Women's Memorial would do much to give women veterans a new sense of self-respect and it will make a strong public statement that bias, prejudice, or ignorance of the sacrifices that women veterans have made for their country will no longer be tolerated.

Today the flag that covered my father's casket when he was put to final rest in 1948 lies in front of me, because I have always wanted him to be proud of me, his only child. And I believe he would be proudest of me today when I say, after 18 long years of silence: I was an American soldier; I answered my country's call to arms; and I am an American veteran, a title I should be able to share with equal dignity with all who have served before me and will serve after me.

No more apologies, Mr. Chairman. I am a Vietnam veteran. I am proud of it.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much, Karen.

[Applause.]

[The prepared statement of Ms. Johnson follows:]

TESTIMONY SUBMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE
ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS
ON FEBRUARY 23, 1988
BY KAREN K. JOHNSON
515 S. ROCK STREET
LITTLE ROCK, AR 72202

My name is Karen K. Johnson and I'm from Little Rock, AR, a state where over 80,000 Vietnam Veterans live and work and where the state council of the Vietnam Veterans of America has voted their support of the Vietnam Women's Memorial and who considers an insult against any veteran to be an insult against all veterans.

In explanation of my support of the Vietnam Women's Memorial, I was born August 5, 1943, at Petersburg, VA, where my father was stationed at Ft. Lee as an infantry weapons instructor until shortly before my birth when he was transferred to Cape Girodeau, MO, to enter pilot training. My mother and I then returned to her home in Oklahoma when I was two weeks old. Subsequently, my father was sent overseas where he was killed in action on November 11, 1944, near Metz, France, while serving with General Patton's Third Army.

I grew up in Guthrie and Midwest City, OK, in a family that deeply honored my father's sacrifice for his country and instilled the same values of duty, honor and country in me. After graduation from Oklahoma State University in 1964, I explored the military as a career and joined in February, 1965.

Considering that everyone in my family was deeply patriotic, it was not at all odd to them that I chose to enter the Army, even though I was the first woman in my family to do so. My family felt all Americans owed their country any sacrifice needed for the national good regardless of their race or sex as patriotism should be a blind emotion that all Americans can respond to with full acceptance by their country.

Consequently, after serving in Germany from 1966 - 1968, when my country asked me to again go overseas and serve in Vietnam in July, 1970, I went. I served in Vietnam from July, 1970, to March, 1972, for a total of 20 months in-country. When I tell people these facts they always seem to ask: (1) "You must have been a nurse"; (2) "You couldn't have seen any combat"; (3) "You must have volunteered". When I tell them I was awarded a bronze star, they always ask what for. For 18 years I have always answered those questions with long-winded explanations which were really apologies for my Vietnam service because I wasn't a nurse or a combat soldier and there were many others who served and who the public much better understood their service in the traditional roles. I have kept silent on what I did in Vietnam because it was easier than making apologies or trying to educate the listener. I know now that I have done many Vietnam Veterans a great disservice by my silence. Thanks to the support of the Arkansas Vietnam Veterans, my husband and my grandchildren, I have made my last apology, felt my last twinge of embarrassment and will not remain silent to the detriment of my comrades in arms. I am a Vietnam Veteran and I am proud of it. I have nothing to apologize for concerning my Vietnam service. No, I was not a nurse, yes, I saw very little full-fledged combat and, yes, when my country called I went willingly. I see no disgrace in answering such a call or in volunteering to serve in the U. S. Army.

I served as the Command Information Officer of the United States Army, Vietnam Headquarters, located at Long Binh. However, my job entailed finding out what Army troops were doing, photographing the troops, writing new reports and printing the internal publications to keep the troops informed. I could not do that from Long Binh. I travelled all over Vietnam wherever there were Army troops I went too. I have flown in attack helicopters, been shot at in jeeps and gone over the Hai Van Pass in convoys.

Whatever it took to get he news out to the troops is what may staff and I did, and we did it well. Uptight Magazine, one of our publications, received the Thomas Jefferson Award for the outstanding military publication in its field -- an award made possible by Time Magazine. Our office published a twice-daily news bulletin, a weekly Long Binh newspaper, the weekly Army Reporter, Uptight Magazine Quarterly, and Tour 365, the history of the war, was updated every six months so that troops rotating home had a written history of their service. We were also responsible for the free distribution of Stars & Stripes to isure that every U.S. mililtary person serving in Vietnam had daily access to a newspaper. There were a lot of obstacles and transportation problems to resolve to make all this happen, and my staff made it happen every day for 20 months, working 12 hour shifts, seven days a week, including Christmas, when we worked harder because we were responsible for making Operation Jingle Bells work so the troops could see Bob Hope.

I am here today to tell you how proud I am to have served with so many brave, hard working soldiers in Vietnam. Many have gone on to prominent positions since we returned home. Sp. 4 Peter Moulton is now editor of a Trenton, New Jersey newspaper. Sp.4 Steve Crain is a published artist. But all of us who served together will always remember Sp. 5 Stephen Henry Warner, who gave his life so the American soldier could be the best informed and motivated soldier in the world. I don't believe any who served with me would want me to apologize for our service or that Steve Warner gave his life as an Army journalist, not a combat soldier.

If they could be here today I am sure they would tell you that the USARV CIO was one of the finest in the world, one that all Americans could have taken pride in. Because our staff really cared and went beyond the call of duty even to the point of giving our ~~selves~~ lives if necessary, I was awarded a Bronze Star.

If there is any apology owed, it is the one I owe my staff for not standing up for them for the last 18 years because I didn't like the questions my admission to being a Vietnam Veteran elicited because I was a woman--something not well understood by the American public. Their service and mine should be given equal recognition with all who served and not downplayed because of the non-traditional position I held.

Part of the American creed is that all men are created equal, endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Unfortunately, we all know all too well that not all men are born equal, some were born lame, some were born deaf, some blind, some mentally handicapped, some into abject poverty, and some unwanted. This great body has done much to legislate eqality where it could be legislated. You cannot legislate sight, hearing or missing limbs but you can legislate dignity for all by condemning bias and prejudice wherever it exists and you have done that on many previous occasions. Because of your brave actions, whole classes of citizens have a new sense of self-respect.

I come before you today to ask you to legislate equal dignity for the women who served their country by answering the call to arms. The Vietnam Women's Memorial will do much to give women veterans a new sense of self-respect and it will make a strong public statement that bias, prejudice or ignorance of the sacrifices women veterans have made for their country will no longer be tolerated.

My family made the ultimate sacrifice when my father gave his life for his country in WW II and my cousin, Jimmy King, gave his life in Vietnam. We are all very proud of them. I want my family to be proud of me too for I served with equal commitment. Had it been necessary to give my life, I would have done so. For some reason God chose to spare me but I do not believe that makes my service any less honorable. I have never really told my family what I did in Vietnam because I didn't think it was worthy of comment.

Today the flag that covered my father's casket when he was put to final rest in 1948 lies in front of me because I always wanted him to be proud of me--his only child--and I believe he would be proudest of me today when I finally say, after 18 long years of silence, I was an American soldier, I answered my country's call to arms, and I am an American Veteran--a title I should share with equal dignity with all who have served before me and will serve after me. No more apologies--I am a Vietnam Veteran and proud of it.

I ask your help in obtaining equal dignity by passing S.B. 2042.

Senator BUMPERS. Ms. Boulay, do you have any feelings about where the statue ought to be located at the Memorial?

Ms. BOULAY. Yes, we do, sir. We discussed this with William Penn Mott and he suggested and we concurred and we presented to the Fine Arts Commission a suggestion that at the eastern tip of the wall, in a similar spot where the men are at the western end of the wall.

There is a diagram that we have available in the project material that we submitted for the record.

Senator BUMPERS. How were these eight women who died killed, do you know?

Ms. BOULAY. If my memory serves me correct, two went down, were shot down in a helicopter; and two were crashed in a medevac plane; one died of—I think she had a stroke. A third—I am sorry, I am losing it.

I do not know the sixth or the seventh. I do know Sharon Lane was on duty, also a nurse, when shrapnel in her hospital—she took some shrapnel in her carotid artery and died instantly.

Senator BUMPERS. Did 8,000 women who served or 10,000—which is the correct figure? I hear two different figures?

Ms. BOULAY. Yes. We do not know the correct figure, and we are in the process of determining what that precise figure is. We do know, for example, the marines kept very accurate records about the women who were there. They sent 36 women.

We do know that the WACS sent 636. We have——

Senator BUMPERS. 636 WACS?

Ms. BOULAY. Yes, such as Ms. Johnson.

Senator BUMPERS. Do you have any idea what the mix was between military and civilian among the women?

Ms. BOULAY. We do know that, in addition to approximately 10,000 or 11,000 military women, there were more than 13,000 Red Cross women. Almost all or virtually exclusively all of the Red Cross personnel in Vietnam were women, recruited especially for that.

We do know that there were several women in the Department of Defense; 26 foreign service officers lost their lives. They had served in the embassy, they were being evacuated at the end of 1975, and their aircraft went down.

And there were many women in the United States Agency for International Development who were there to teach the Vietnamese certain updated nursing techniques, to care for Vietnamese soldiers.

And we know that there were two CIA agents who were women. And that is the best our research has come up with.

Senator BUMPERS. I would just as soon you had not mentioned that.

Let me ask you, Mrs. Jamison, if you had had your choice early on, would you rather a woman had been part of the original statue?

Ms. JAMISON. I think if Mr. Hart had put a woman in with the original statue, there would have been no discussion about it. But for historically, you know, for three wars what has anyone ever said? Nothing.

It is time. It is past time. It is right. And that is a beautiful statue, and it looks like all of us looked there.

Senator BUMPERS. Do any of you have any idea how many correspondents from the media died in Vietnam, newspaper, television reporters?

Ms. BOULAY. We do know there was a woman photojournalist who stepped on a land mine. We do know that one of Karen Johnson's troops, a journalist, was killed, and I know that there was at least one male correspondent who also died.

Senator BUMPERS. Well, I thank you all very much. Your testimony has been extremely good, very cogent, and we appreciate your taking the time to prepare it, and some of you have come long distances to be with us. Tell all those Arkansans in Concord hello for me, Ms. Jamison.

Our next panel is Mr. Robert W. Doubek, Maya Lin, who is the original designer of the Vietnam Memorial, Colonel Mary Evelyn Bane, Diane Stoy, Donald Kilgus and Shelley Mastran.

You know, I was just thinking, while you are being seated, I do not think I have ever seen a memorial to a Confederate soldier here in this city.

Mr. DOUBEK. You have to go to Alexandria, Virginia, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BUMPERS. You have to cross over into Virginia, huh?

Well, I may introduce one of my own bills here before long because, you know, we are the only part of this country that has ever served as an occupied nation.

Talk about healing the wounds of the nation, that was a time when—no, I am not going to do that, but I was just thinking about it.

With your permission, I will take you the way your names are listed in order on my list.

The first one is Mr. Doubek.

Is that a correct pronunciation?

STATEMENT OF ROBERT W. DOUBEK, FORMER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND PROJECT DIRECTOR, VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL FUND, INC.

Mr. DOUBEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chairman, my name is Robert W. Doubek of Washington, D.C. I am a Vietnam veteran. I am employed in the private sector. I was a founder of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund. I served as its Executive Director and Project Director. I was responsible for building the memorial. I did the work. In recognition of my achievement, I was nominated for a Congressional Gold Medal which was a bill passed by the Senate on November 14, 1985.

The fact is that women are not represented by the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The fact is also that the memorial does not represent anyone. It is not a legislative body. It is a symbol of honor, and as such, it is complete as a tribute to all who served their country in the Vietnam War.

It is a basic rule of common sense that mandates that something which is not broken should not be fixed. The genius of the wall is its equalizing and unifying effect. All veterans are honored, regard-

less of rank, service branch, commission, sex, or any other category. The names of the eight women casualties take their rightful places of honor. To ensure that this fact is never overlooked, the inscription on the first panel of the wall states that the memorial is in honor of the men and women of the Armed Forces. The reason I know this is because I was instrumental in drafting the inscription.

In 1982, politics required that we add a figurative sculpture as a more specific symbol of the Vietnam veteran. Even with the heroic and dangerous service rendered by other combatants such as Air Force and Navy pilots, Navy swiftboat crews, and the life saving efforts of nurses, helicopter pilots and medics, there was only one possible choice of what category would be literally depicted to symbolize the Vietnam veteran, and that could only be the enlisted infantrymen, grunts. They account for the majority of names on the wall; they bore the brunt of the battle. The fact is all grunts were men.

The addition of a statue of a woman or of any other category, for that matter, would reduce the symbolism of the existing sculpture from honoring or symbolizing the Vietnam veterans community as a whole to symbolizing only enlisted infantrymen. This in turn would open a Pandora's box of proliferating statuary toward the goal of trying to depict every possible category. The National Park Service has already received requests for a statue to literally depict Native Americans and even for scout dogs, and in fact, I want to say that the figure for Native American casualties was 225.

The addition of a statue solely on the basis of gender raises troubling questions about proportion. Is gender of such overriding importance among veterans that we should have a specific statue to women who suffered eight casualties, and none for the Navy which suffered over 2,500, nor for the Air Force which suffered over 2,400? Is gender of such importance to outweigh that some 90 percent of the women who served in Vietnam in the military were officers, while over 87 percent of all casualties were enlisted?

Approval of S. 2042 would set——

Senator BUMPERS. Wait, say that again.

Ninety percent of the women who served there were officers?

Mr. DOUBEK. I am told that, the statistics I have read is that 8,500 of the women in Vietnam were nurses, who were commissioned officers.

Senator BUMPERS. The statement here in your statement is 90 percent of the women who served were officers, and 87 percent of all the casualties were enlisted? You are talking about in the male population?

Mr. DOUBEK. Well, of the entire population, were enlisted.

Senator BUMPERS. Were enlisted?

Mr. DOUBEK. Yes.

Senator BUMPERS. All right.

Mr. DOUBEK. Approval of S. 2042 would set the precedent that strict literal depiction of both genders is an absolute requirement of all military related memorials. What about the new Navy memorial? Will Congress mandate an additional figure at the Iwo Jima Memorial?

In November 1986 Congress authorized the establishment of a memorial to honor all women who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States. The symbolism and importance of this long overdue tribute, especially to the many women who served in World War II and Korea would be seriously compromised by the passage of this legislation. Fundraising for the inclusive memorial cannot even begin until the question of the Vietnam women's statue is resolved.

In establishing the memorial, there were two federal agencies that played a particularly noble role, the Fine Arts Commission and the Planning Commission. When Interior Secretary Watt issued the ultimatum by which the statue was added, the Commissions could have taken the safe course of mollifying their natural constituencies by disapproving the statue, but both protected the interests of the American people, realizing that if they did that, the entire memorial would be finished.

And they recently protected the interests of the American people as a whole recently by going on record against the addition of the women's statue.

I would like to say that several veteran organizations have come in here expressing their support for this legislation. I recently inquired as to the deliberative processes that they undertook to arrive at their positions on this proposals, and I note that none of the organizations has been able to provide any documentation that the interests of the American people as a whole, or of the memorial as an entity were even considered when they adopted these resolutions.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is one of the few bright legacies of this country's difficult experience in the Vietnam War. It is complete, it is whole, it is not a legislative body, nor is it a piece of legislation subject to amendment for political ends. Like an innocent child, it offers hope and promise. Let's protect it, not abuse it.

I ask you to reject this legislation.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Doubek follows:]

TESTIMONY OF
ROBERT W. DOUBEK, FORMERLY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND PROJECT DIRECTOR,
VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL FUND, INC.
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS
U.S. SENATE
IN OPPOSITION TO S. 2042

FEBRUARY 23, 1988

My name is Robert W. Doubek of Washington, D.C. I am a Vietnam veteran and am employed in the private sector. This statement is submitted in opposition to S. 2042, a bill to authorize the construction of a statue of a woman at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

I was a founder of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., and served as its executive director and project director. As such, I was directly responsible for the entire process of legislation, design, Federal approval and construction of the national memorial. In recognition of my achievement of building the memorial, I, along with Jan Scruggs and John Wheeler, was nominated for a special Congressional Gold Medal by Senate Bill S. 865, which was passed unanimously by the Senate on November 14, 1985.

The legislation before you, S. 2042, is a bad idea for many reasons. By this bill the Congress would make the judgments that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as it presently stands is "incomplete" but for the addition of a statue to literally depict women, and that no other special group may be similarly singled out for literal recognition. These judgments not only are based upon faulty reasoning, but are not for the Congress to make.

We have heard statements that women are not "represented" by the memorial as it now stands. The fact, however, is that the memorial does not represent anyone. It is not a legislative body. It is a symbol - a symbol of the honor that our nation accords to those who served in its Armed Forces in the Vietnam War. As such, it is complete as a tribute to all who served. In the five years since its dedication, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial has become the most visited national shrine in Washington, an overwhelming acclamation of its appropriateness by the American people. A basic rule of common sense mandates that something that isn't broken shouldn't be fixed.

One of the keys to the genius of the abstract design of the "Wall" is its equalizing and unifying effect: all veterans are honored, regardless of rank, service branch, military occupation, race, creed, sex, or any other category. The names of the eight women casualties take their rightful places of honor in the long list. To ensure that this fact is never overlooked by any visitor, the inscription at the top of the first panel on the

wall is specifically drafted to state that the memorial is "In honor of the men and women of the Armed Forces who served in the Vietnam War".

Despite the advantages of the orginal design, politics required that we add a piece of figurative sculpture as a more specific symbol of the Vietnam veteran. Even with knowledge of the heroic and dangerous service rendered by other combatants such as Air Force and Navy pilots, Army helicopter pilots, and Navy swiftboat crews, and of the life saving efforts of nurses, helicopter pilots and medics, there was only one possible choice of what category would be literally depicted to symbolize the Vietnam veteran. That group could be only the enlisted infantrymen, the "grunts". The grunts account for the vast majority of names on the wall, and bore the brunt of the combat effort, which all other categories supported. The fact is: all grunts were men.

Simplicity, eloquence and poignance are the essence of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and the challenge of integrating the flag staff and the politically mandated sculpture with the wall was a major one. Under the guidance of the Commission of Fine Arts, however, our architects developed an episodic scheme for the three elements by which the visitor is led in turn from the flag staff to the sculpture and then to the wall. Each element retains its own dignity, with the abstract symbol of the wall and realistic symbol of the sculpture in a dynamic tension.

The addition of a statue of a woman, or of any other specific category for that matter, would destroy the symbolism and aesthetics of the memorial. There would be a whole new focus to compete with the subtle arrangement of the existing elements. The existing sculpture would be reduced from a symbol of the entire Vietnam veteran population to one for enlisted infantry alone. This in turn would open a Pandora's box of competing and proliferating statuary to the emphemeral goal of literally depicting every possible subcategory. The National Park Service has already received demands for a statue for Native Americans and even for Scout Dogs.

The addition of a statue of a woman solely on the basis of gender raises troubling questions of proportion and of precedent. Is gender of such overriding importance among veterans that a specific statue to women, who suffered eight casualties, should be built with none for the Navy, which had over 2500, nor for the Air Force, which had over 2400? Is gender of such importance as to outweigh the fact that some 90% of the women who served in Vietnam were officers, while over 87% of all casualties were enlisted men? Congressional approval of S. 2042 wouldset the policy and precedent that strict literal depiction of both genders is an absolute requirement of all military related memorials. Will this policy apply to the new Navy Memorial? Will Congress mandate an additional figure at the Iwo Jima Memorial?

I realize that by virtue of having served typically in support roles women generally have not been depicted in military monuments. Fortunately, this lack was addressed by Congress in November 1986 by Public Law 99-610, which authorizes the establishment of a memorial on Federal land to honor all women who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States. I wholeheartedly applaud this legislation, and have already volunteered my services to The Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation (WMSAMF), which will establish the memorial. I note, however, that the symbolism and importance of this long overdue tribute, especially to the many women who served in World War II and Korea, would be seriously compromised by the passage of S. 2042. In fact, the WMSAMF has determined that it can not even commence its fund raising campaign until the question of the Vietnam women statue is resolved. The WMSAMF remains ready, however, to welcome the participation of the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project in the memorial to all women veterans.

Although it has been only six years since ground was broken for the Vietnam Veteran Memorial, I often am dismayed by the seeming lack of memory of the extraordinary struggle which we faced to reach that point. See Attachment . I am similarly dismayed by the seeming ignorance of the noble role played by two Federal agencies, the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, in that project. Both commissions had already approved the final design when then Interior Secretary James Watt issued the ultimatum by which the statue would be added. The commissions might have taken the safe course of mollifying their own natural constituencies by disapproving the statue, but both realized that to do so would mean the death of this sorely needed memorial. Both the CFA and the NCPC again protected the interests of the American people when they recently went on record in opposition to the proposal to add the women statue. These agencies rather than the Congress should make the judgment of the "completeness" and appropriateness of our national memorials, and they have done so.

Regarding the apparent support of several major veterans organizations for S. 2042, I recently inquired as to the deliberative processes that they undertook to arrive at their positions on this proposal, and I note that none of the organizations has been able to provide any documentation that the interests of the American people as a whole or of the memorial as an entity were considered. Did any of these organizations give any thought to the precedent that they were setting?

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is the one of the few bright legacies of our country's difficult experience in the Vietnam War. It is complete; and it is whole. It is not a legislative body; nor is it a piece of legislation subject to amendment for political ends. Like an innocent child, it offers hope and promise. Let's protect it, not abuse it. For these reasons, I ask you to reject S. 2042.

The Story of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial

An insider tells the sometimes-troubled history—through its pre-construction days until the glorious national tribute one year ago this month.

By Robert W. Doubek

NO DOUBT like most Vietnam veterans, I had been preoccupied after leaving the service with completing my education and getting established in a career. I had had little time to look back but—probably like most—I retained a lingering sense of resentment that our service had gone unrecognized by our country.

While practicing law in 1978, I met Joe Zengerle, a West Point graduate, Vietnam veteran and early advocate for Vietnam veterans' causes. In April 1979, at Joe's invitation, I attended a meeting of an ad hoc committee formed to hold a local observance of Vietnam Veterans Week (proclaimed by Congress for the week of Memorial Day, 1979). There, a slender serious-looking man named Jan Scruggs proposed the idea of a memorial. The consensus at the meeting was negative ("We need benefits, not a memorial."). Later, I advised Jan that a non-profit, charitable corporation was the necessary legal organization to undertake such a project. It could contract for design, construction and other services, and receive contributions; donors would get tax deductions. Ten days later Scruggs retained me to set up the corporation and asked me to be an incorporator. The memorial, he explained, would be a symbol of overdue recognition by Americans to the service of Vietnam veterans. Financed by private contributions, it would be an expression of the people, not just the government. The memorial would make no political statement about the war. By transcending that issue, it could help reconcile the divisions in the country caused by the war, since both supporters and opponents would no doubt agree that Vietnam veterans had served honorably.

Photo by John Caruso/TYL Associates, Inc.

Jan, from Bowie, Md., enlisted in the Army right out of high school. He had served in Vietnam from 1969 to 1970 as a rifleman and had been decorated for valor. Half the men in his company were killed or wounded, and he was wounded and hospitalized for two months. After Vietnam he earned college and graduate degrees in psychological counseling. In a study of the psychosocial readjustment of Vietnam veterans, he found that years later many still had difficulties—primarily because they did not return to a supportive psychological atmosphere. In congressional testimony in 1976 he had recommended that the federal government establish not only counseling centers but a national memorial—as a symbol to Vietnam veterans that the country cared about them. The movie *The Deerhunter*

Photo by Bruce Hargreaves

In late 1979, several members of Congress co-signed a resolution authorizing the use of two acres near the Lincoln Memorial as a site for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Four of the 10 pose with Jan Scruggs (right) during a press conference. *(Left to right)* Sen. John Warner (R-Va.), Rep. John Paul Hammarschmidt (R-Ark.) and Sen. Charles Mathias (R-Md.).

had now rekindled his idea for the memorial.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc., was incorporated on April 27, 1979. Scruggs became president, and I became secretary. In June the IRS granted tax-exempt status. We opened a post office box and arranged with a bank to open all our mail and deposit and record receipts of all contributions. Jan drafted statements and asked senators and congressmen for support, taking two weeks off from his job without pay. He organized a press conference on Memorial Day to announce the formation of the VVMF, but by July 4 only $144.50 was received—as sardonically reported by Roger Mudd on the CBS evening news.

Yet, the wire service story had a positive effect. It publicized the Fund's address and attracted the notice of Jack Wheeler, a Washington lawyer, Vietnam veteran and West Point graduate who had led the effort to establish a South East Asia memorial at West Point. At our first meeting I outlined the seemingly overwhelming number of tasks, decisions and problems. The initial, most critical was manpower. Wheeler recruited a group of professional men, all Vietnam or Vietnam-era veterans, comprised of lawyers Sandy Mayo, John Morrison, Paul Haaga and Bill Marr, and certified public accountant Bob Frank, who agreed to become VVMF treasurer.

In August, Sen. Charles Mathias of Maryland agreed to introduce the legislation needed to authorize public land for the memorial. Frank and Wheeler became VVMF directors, and in September we began regular meetings with the legal committee and other volunteer advisors, who included Vietnam veterans Bill Jayne and Art Mosley, and Heather Haaga, a telephone company executive with knowledge of fund raising.

The legislation would be introduced on Nov. 8, 1979. Now for the basic issues: where and what should the memorial be? Most important for its success was a prominent site. It should be a major memorial seen by all tourists—not just a marker or statue tucked away across the river. A site on the Mall, suggested by Senator Mathias, would be prominent but would require that the memorial's design respect the existing environment. Happily, the requirement was compatible with our thinking. We believed that in character the memorial should be reflective and contemplative, evoking thoughts about the service, sacrifice and courage of the veterans, the missing and dead, rather than attention to U.S. policy or the war itself. The design solution used at West Point, where a park was developed on a quiet peninsula, seemed ideal, and we envisioned the memorial as an overall landscaped plan. Thus, we asked Mathias to specify in the legislation a two-acre site in Constitution Gardens. Congressman John Paul Hammerschmidt agreed to introduce a companion bill in the House of Representatives.

FUND-RAISING EFFORTS

In September, a direct mail fund-raising firm proposed a 200,000-letter test mailing, which, if successful, would be followed by a one million-letter appeal on Memorial Day 1980. The test required $20,000 for postage and fees, far in excess of our assets. Yet,

Photo by Bruce Hargreaves

Maya Ying Lin, a 21-year-old architecture student at Yale University, won first place in the nationwide competition to design the Memorial. Here she displays her winning entry at a May 1981 press conference with Jan Scruggs (left) and the author.

in early October, Sen. John Warner of Virginia, who was Secretary of the Navy during the Vietnam War, personally committed to help raise the "seed money" required to launch the national fund-raising campaign.

With the introduction of the legislation, VVMF needed an organization and an office. We formed six volunteer groups (public relations, finance and accounting, fund raising, legislative, site selection, and design and construction), and on Dec. 1, 1979, I became executive director—our first salaried position. On Jan. 2, 1980, I opened our office—barely large enough for a desk—on Connecticut Avenue.

By the end of 1979, VVMF had $9,000—$5,500 from individuals in response to the July 4 news story, $2,500 from the Veterans of Foreign Wars and a $1,000 personal gift from Senator Warner, who had held a fund-raising breakfast in late December. (According to Scruggs, TROA members were among the first Americans to respond to the national appeal for financial support.) In addition, on Jan. 16, Grumman Aerospace Corporation, responding to Warner's appeal, presented a $10,000 check, enough for the postage for the test mailing and the initial fees of the firm. We were off and running. In February, H. Ross Perot contributed an additional $10,000. Heather Haaga and our direct mail firm designed new letterhead and our flame logo. We recruited prominent Americans to lend their names as members of our national sponsoring committee. Bob Hope agreed to sign our appeal. By the end of February, the test mailing was a clear success; the Memorial Day appeal would be targeted to names on lists which tested best.

Morrison guided our legislative effort. By mid-March, 85 of the 100 senators were co-sponsors of our bill. With this number and our professional study of site alternatives, the National Park Service abandoned its opposition to the site-specific provisions in the bill. After hearings in the Senate, Vietnam veteran Ron Gibbs coordinated efforts in the House. With Senate passage on April 30, and House hearings on May 12, we were hopeful of final passage by Memorial Day, to coincide with our direct mail appeal and our Memorial Day service at the site. Yet, a congressman who misunderstood the nonpolitical nature of the memorial gutted our bill on the House floor, requiring a Senate/House conference to restore the site provisions and spoiling our schedule.

Whatever our initial successes, it still took money to raise money. The one million-letter appeal required $31,000 in advance for postage. Washington's First American Bank, whose president Charles Daniel was a West Point graduate, provided an unsecured loan. In March 1980, we realized that our public relations needs required professional involvement and had invested our still-meager resources to retain a firm. The investment soon paid off when in late April syndicated columnist James J. Kilpatrick, who had never before endorsed a fund-raising drive, appealed to his readers. They ultimately gave more than $60,000. We repayed the loan within weeks.

Photos by Bruce Hargreaves

Numerous Vietnam veterans were invited to the March 26, 1982 groundbreaking ceremony, including TROA's executive vice president, LGen Roy Manor, USAF-Ret.

SELECTING A DESIGN

Mosley, a West Point graduate and real estate developer, and John Woods, a professional engineer who was disabled in Vietnam, considered alternative methods of selecting a design for the memorial: designing it ourselves, selecting a single artist or designer, conducting a "limited competition" or holding a competition open to all. We decided upon the latter. We had already heard from dozens of designers, and the significance of the project demanded a design selection method which, consistent with our fund raising, would offer all Americans the opportunity to contribute. After interviews in May and June we selected Washington architect Paul Spreiregen, an expert on the competition method, as our professional advisor.

Our Memorial Day service received national media attention, and on July 1, 1980, President Carter signed our legislation in a Rose Garden ceremony. The bill made the memorial's design subject to the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts, the National Capital Planning Commission and the Secretary of the Interior, James Watt, and required that sufficient funds to complete it be raised before ground was broken. With our direct mail effort and Kilpatrick's appeal, we now had sufficient funds to hold the design competition and undertake less expensive forms of fund raising.

One month later I found larger office space, and in September Kathy Kielich joined me on the staff as administrative manager. With the organizational guidance of Richard Radez—a West Point graduate and bank executive—we hired Sandie Fauriol in October to plan and conduct a fund-raising campaign that would target corporations, foundations, unions, veterans organizations and community groups, in addition to the ongoing direct mail program. We set a $7 million fund-raising goal based upon our estimates of design, construction, and administrative and fund-raising costs. To advise Fauriol, we retained Robert Semple, a consultant from New York. With Ray Grace, a Vietnam veteran who had raised the funds for the Lake Placid Olympics, as our contractor, we intensified our direct mail program.

Throughout the summer, we developed the rules, criteria and documents for the design competition. For the design we specified that the memorial be reflective and contemplative, and harmonious with its site and environment; contain inscriptions of the names of the 57,939 dead and missing; and make no political statement about the war. Our most difficult decision was the composition of the jury. Alternatives included judging it ourselves and putting together a panel representative of all affected by the war. Ultimately we decided—as the jury's discretion was limited by our criteria and we would interview all candidates—to constitute a jury of the most experienced, prestigious artists and designers we could find. It took a mature eye to envision—from two-dimensional renderings—how a design would look on the site. Prestige was important to attract the best designers and to minimize second guessing by the federal approval bodies, which had tied up a memorial to President Franklin D. Roosevelt for more than 25 years.

Photo courtesy Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund

We began promoting the competition in October and sent out more than 5,000 copies of the rules booklet. By the Dec. 29 deadline nearly 2,600 individuals and teams (3,800 individuals in all) had registered. By March 31, 1981, we received 1,421 entries, making our competition the largest ever held in the U.S. or Europe. The entries, if set up side by side in a single row, would have extended more than 1.3 miles. Joe Zengerle, who was now Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Installations, had arranged for the entries to be displayed in a hangar at Andrews AFB, Md.

In February 1981, Scruggs became a full-time staff member, and Col Don Schaet, USMC-Ret., became executive vice president. As the new project director, I focused on design and construction. In April, Karen Bigelow was hired as assistant campaign director. We now had the full staff of eight, including two secretaries, who carried the project to completion. During this period Perot contributed $160,000, the estimated cost of the design competition. Total contributions as of March 31, 1981, exceeded $1.8 million.

MAYA LIN WINS

On May 1, 1981, the jury presented its report to our board, staff and design advisors. All but one of us served in Vietnam, and we enthusiastically accepted its recommendation to build the first prize-winning design of Maya Ying Lin. Announced at a press conference on May 6, the design was national news. We were finally getting the attention from the media that we had sought from the beginning. Though the unconventional design provoked some negative comment, a consensus favoring its elegant simplicity emerged on the part of the architectural critics, the staffs of the approval bodies and veterans organizations. The American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars publicized the design and launched internal fund-raising campaigns.

In June 1981 the design concept was approved in open hearing by the Secretary of the Interior's National Capital Memorial Advisory Committee. The Fine Arts and Planning Commissions followed suit at hearings in July and August. Though giving conceptual approval, all three bodies saw questions of safety, handicapped access and drainage to be addressed in the design development process. In mid-August we retained the Cooper-Lecky Partnership, a Washington architectural firm, to assist Lin in developing her design into final plans. Gilbane Building Company, which had built the Air and Space Museum on the Mall, became our construction manager.

By late summer we had planned to break ground in March 1982 and dedicate the memorial on Veterans Day. The dedication would offer an opportunity for national recognition of Vietnam veterans. We began to think in terms of a major celebration, which might include a parade. In May, immediately after the design was announced, radio station WPKX of Alexandria, Va., held a radiothon which raised $250,000 in pledges during one weekend. Similar fund raisers followed in San Antonio and Little Rock. Staffers Fauriol and Bigelow toured the country visiting corporations and foundations. The fund-raising campaign hit full stride when Paul Thayer, chairman of the LTV Corporation, agreed to be chairman of our Corporate Advisory Board.

While our design team addressed issues such as safety, handicapped access, and size and layout of names, Walter Marquardt—our Gilbane construction executive—developed budgets and schedules and investigated sources for materials. The walls were lengthened to 250 feet to provide a gentle slope for wheelchairs and allow maximum space for the names. A granite walkway and safety curb were added. A storm sewer under Constitution Avenue solved the drainage problem. We found that black granite could be quarried to produce slabs with a maximum width of 40 feet; the names were therefore laid out five to a line, with the panels like pages in a book. Stone with

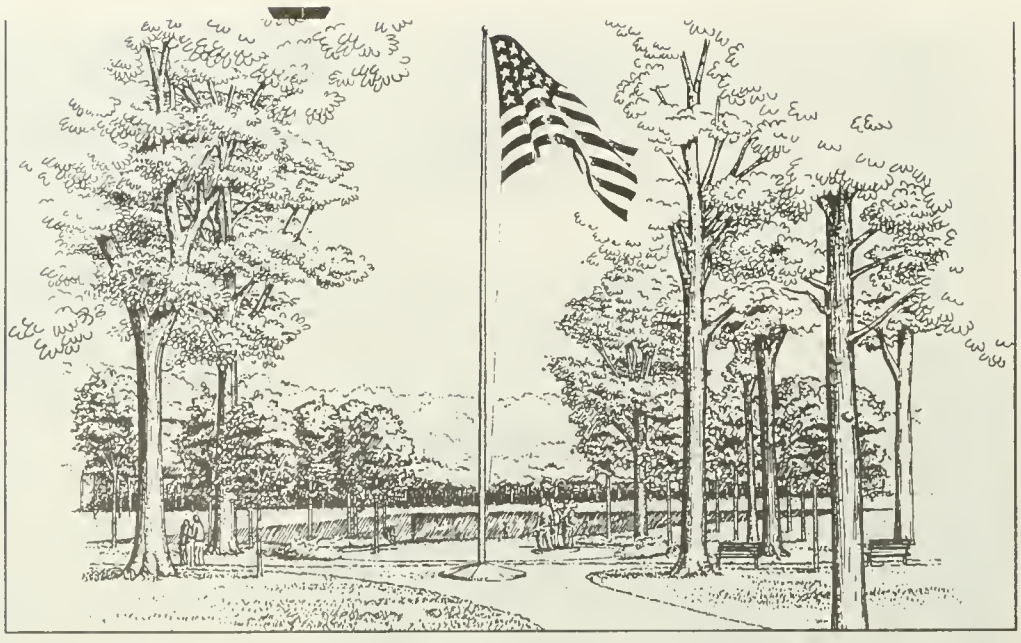

Illustration courtesy Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund

To accommodate concern that the Memorial lacked specific symbols of veterans and patriotism, the VVMF added a heroic sculpture designed by Frederick Hart (opposite page) and a flagstaff. Both are expected to be dedicated in May.

sufficient density and depth of color unfortunately was available only from quarries in India and Sweden. In September I arranged with the National Personnel Records Center in St. Louis to retrieve the file of every man and woman on the casualty list and check the spelling of his or her name.

INSCRIBING THE NAMES

Our major problem was how to inscribe the names. Hand carving would take all the world's craftsmen three years and cost $10 million. Even the production of stencils for sandblasting would be a huge task. Yet, in August, almost as if by providence, I was called by Larry Century, a young inventor from Cleveland, Ohio. He had devised a process which he believed might be used to inscribe the names. It produced a stencil photographically, directly on the surface of the stone. Century soon submitted samples of granite with complex designs—which we had sent—blasted perfectly. His process, though simple, was such a great advance that we specified its use when we bid the inscription contract. Century became a consultant to Binswanger Glass Company of Memphis, Tenn., which won the contract and blasted all 57,939 names in a three-month period.

By the fall of 1981, we were well on schedule for a March groundbreaking. Fund raising was going well, and the developed design would be ready for the November meeting of the Fine Arts Commission. Before quarrying the stone, however, we needed to go before Fine Arts in October for approval of the granite samples. This meeting was to become the opening battle of a miniature war called the "controversy."

Tom Carhart, a Vietnam veteran and West Point classmate of Wheeler and Mosley, had moved to Washington in April 1980 and become an occasional VVMF volunteer. A contact of his had led to the loan from First American Bank. Later that fall, however, Carhart had withdrawn as a volunteer to enter the design competition, and like 1,402 other entrants, had been unsuccessful. Unhappy with the chosen design, Carhart had little subsequent contact with VVMF. But now, five months later, he was to show up at the Fine Arts Commission wearing his purple hearts, and with reporters and television film crews, to denounce the design and demand its rejection. His characterization of the memorial as a "black gash of shame and sorrow" was publicized nationwide by the Associated Press, which described him as a decorated veteran, but failed to mention that he was also a losing competitor.

The Fine Arts Commission affirmed its prior approval, but others disgruntled with the design joined Carhart, and a small but determined effort to block its construction began. The group included staff members of conservative congressmen, key assistants of Interior Secretary Watt, author James Webb and Milton Copulos, of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank. It seemed as if fires were being lit everywhere, and the press, sensing blood, at times reported opinion and misinformation as fact. A document alleging that four or five of the jurors were anti-war activists and one a member of the American Communist Party was circulated among conservative senators and key administration officials.

Carhart gained access to the op-ed pages of *The Washington Post* and *New York Times* to carry his crusade. While Kilpatrick held firm in his support of the design and helped bring the *National Review* around, other publications and columnists like *Soldier of Fortune*, Pat Buchanan and Phyllis Schlafly denounced the design without ever talking with us.

Our opponents failed to testify at the hearings of the Fine Arts and Planning Commissions in November and De-

Photo by Mickey Sanborn

Thousands came to Washington in November 1982 to view the completed Memorial and participate in a National Salute to Vietnam Veterans parade (opposite page).

cember at which the developed design was approved.

Jan, Don and I ran ourselves ragged answering hate mail, writing letters to editors and briefing congressmen. Whenever we could get a hearing, we prevailed almost every time. But we were constantly put on the defensive—pointing out that black was a color of dignity and respect (the Marine Corps and Seabees' memorials were black), the 126 degree angle of the walls could not possible be a "peace sign" (no one could spread his fingers that wide), and the memorial would indeed contain an inscription.

In November, Secretary Watt, having heard the "communist" accusation, requested explanation of our design selection method and the jury's deliberations. In early December, Webb resigned from our National Sponsoring Committee, retained a lawyer and demanded that his name be removed immediately from all VVMF materials. He tried to get Army Gen William Westmoreland to resign also, but the general, after hearing our briefing and seeing the slides of the memorial, affirmed his conviction in the appropriateness of the design.

On Dec. 7, the opponents held a press conference to demand that the walls be made white and raised "above ground" (forming a fence across the Mall), with a flagpole planted at the vertex. No one at VVMF claimed to be an art critic, but we knew at least from Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead* that we had no moral—and perhaps even legal—right to make such changes and that the design commissions would never approve them. Furthermore, if we lost the battle to build the Lin design we would lose the memorial entirely. The strong consensus and momentum could never be regained as each new design proposal would be second guessed for decades. We were eager, however, to propose a flag for the site, and asked Senator Warner to mediate somehow with our opponents. They had meanwhile enlisted the support of Perot, who was publicly threatening to conduct a Gallup Poll.

The "controversy" had an unexpected positive effect: our fund raising accelerated significantly. Furthermore, we learned that on Dec. 18, Secretary Watt told his staff that he would not interfere unless he received evidence that the allegations of communist involvement and of overwhelming public opposition to the design were true. The next week, the VFW presented a check for $180,000, and the American Legion was rapidly approaching its goal of $1 million.

Yet, our optimism was short lived. During the Christmas 1981 recess, Congressman Henry Hyde, who claimed never to have heard of the memorial

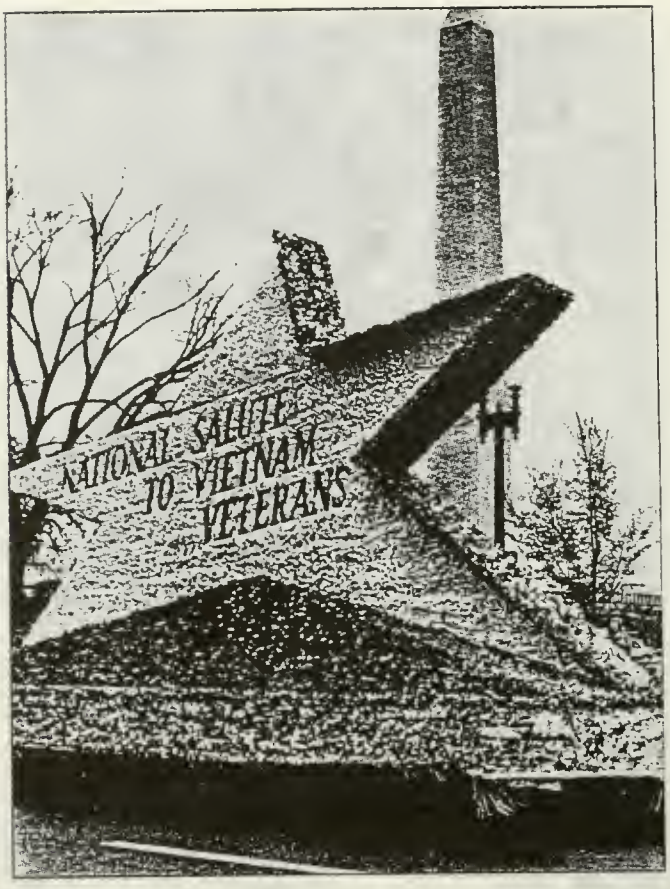

Photo by John Carnio/TYL Associates, Inc.

before, reacted to Webb's op-ed piece in the *Wall Street Journal* on Dec. 18 (Webb asserted that the memorial would be a "wailing wall") and Pat Buchanan's attack in the *Chicago Tribune* on Dec. 26 (raising the "communist" allegation). Without requesting the facts from us, Hyde fired off a "Dear Colleague" letter to all House Republicans asking that they write President Reagan to have the project blocked. Ironically, Hyde represented my home town of Berwyn, Ill., where the local American Legion post had just conducted a "walk-a-thon" to raise funds for the memorial.

Events moved rapidly. In early January, Secretary Watt informed us that he would personally review the project. We had heard that our opponents were basically concerned with adding a flag and having a stronger-worded inscription, which we were perfectly willing to do. We asked Warner to set up a meeting. Secretary Watt, meanwhile, made it clear that he would kill the project unless we accommodated the group of opponents. What was to have been a small meeting grew to fill a Senate hearing room as opponents came in from around the country and Perot sent an aide to Washington to spread the word.

WORKING OUT A COMPROMISE

We were outnumbered at least five to one. We explained the criteria, we explained the design competition, we offered the flag, we offered the inscription, but the reaction was totally negative. After five hours of deadlock, Gen Michael Davison, former U.S. Army Commander in Europe and a strong supporter of the original design, proposed the addition of a sculpture of a serviceman.

We doubted that such an addition would be approved, but with Watt's ultimatum, we had to yield somewhere. At the same time, the memorial's potential spoilers appeared to balk at the responsibility for killing the project. Almost by magic we had the key to unlocking the dilemma. VVMF agreed to use our best efforts to add a flag and statue, and they agreed to cease their efforts to block construction of the Lin design. It was further agreed that we would reconvene in several weeks to discuss suitable sculptures.

The idea that a national memorial could be designed through backroom political tactics was grotesque, but Watt pronounced that he was satisfied with the compromise and inclined to approve construction. We made final arrangements, but just five days before we were to break ground, Watt requested assurances from the commissions that the additions would be approved.

After the initial shock of the meeting, we realized that the important thing was to have a memorial, even if it were not done exactly according to our plans. Furthermore, many people whom we respected thought that a realistic sculpture might be a positive addition, and the site was large enough to blend the flag and statue harmoniously with the walls. Fortunately, both commissions had meetings scheduled for early March, and both, aware of our political problems, took the unusual step of approving the sculpture in principle—in the absence of a specific design. Fine Arts, however, added the caveat that the flag and statue would best be grouped to form an "entrance plaza" at the site.

On March 11, Watt issued his approval, with the condition that the memorial could not be dedicated until the statue was in place. By coincidence the second meeting with the opponents was convened later that day. As at the first meeting, we were outnumbered, and the agenda—to consider designs for the sculpture—was changed. They now decided that they would dictate the exact locations of the flag and statue—even though the statue design had not been considered. By a show of hands, they voted to put the flag at the vertex and the statue in the angle, thereby making the walls a pedestal for the flagpole and a backdrop for the sculpture. Despite this, the meeting had at least one positive result: the sug-

gestion to form a committee to work out the details of the additions.

Work began at the site on March 16, 1982, with the formal groundbreaking ceremony on March 26. Warren Creech, Gilbane's construction manager, pulled out all stops to make up for the lost time. Col Robert A. Carter, a retired Air Force fighter pilot, became our new executive vice president on April 1, 1982. Having completed the fund raising, Fauriol and Bigelow began planning the National Salute to Vietnam Veterans.

In April we formed the Sculpture Panel—with Webb, Copulos, Mosley and Jayne—comprised equally of supporters and opponents of the Lin design. The panel asked Rick Hart, the highest-ranking figurative sculptor in the design competition, to produce clay sketches. We agreed to consider a grouping of three soldiers, and on July 1 we retained Hart to develop a presentation model. Progress on finding locations for the flag and statue was not as easy, since Webb and Copulos insisted that "political" considerations govern—regardless of aesthetics and the need for commission approval. Nevertheless, our Board, as a gesture of good faith, determined to forward for approval the panel's recommendations without modification.

After some tense weeks, in which project architect Carla Corbin ironed out the final details of the inscription process, the first granite panel was unveiled on the site on July 20. We were still on schedule for completing the walls in time for the National Salute in November.

NATIONAL SALUTE

In September, the American Legion, VFW, DAV, AMVETS and Paralyzed Veterans, perceiving the enthusiasm for the Salute and alarmed at the lost opportunity, in concert petitioned Watt to allow the dedication. We were scheduled to present the flag and statue proposal to Fine Arts in October, and although doubtful of their "political locations," we were confident that they would be approved. Arguing that our actions had demonstrated our good faith and that approval of the sculpture design was the higher hurdle, we proposed that Watt relax the condition for a dedication if the sculpture were approved. We began organizing witnesses to testify for the statue, but at the same time were being hard pressed from the rear. Maya Lin, upset with any additions to the site—regardless of location—had retained a prominent attorney to press her case.

The approval of the sculpture on Oct. 13 1982, and the memorial's dedication on Nov. 13 should have been the end of this story. The opponents next, however, began a campaign to have Watt and Congress overrule the Fine Arts Commission. In the closing hours of the lame duck session in late December, Congressmen Donald Bailey and Duncan Hunter actually arranged House passage of a bill to dictate the flag and statue locations. Only the fortitude and astuteness of Mathias prevented it from becoming law. In late January Watt publicly stated that the locations were political issues that would not be resolved for months. At that point, someone obviously decided that enough had been enough, and within two days the secretary signed off on our three alternate proposals. At their February and March meetings, the two commissions approved our "entry plaza" proposal. The political battle over the memorial's design was at long last ended.

During this past spring and summer, VVMF completed the relocated sidewalks and installed the flagstaff. With completion of the plaza and additional walks, and the installation of a lighting system and the statue likely by Memorial Day 1984, the story will end.

The Vietnam War was the experience of our generation, and the lack of recognition of Vietnam veterans could well have been a national tragedy. Thanks, however, to the contributions of hundreds of thousands of caring Americans, and the courage and dedication of a much smaller group—privileged to play integral roles in the effort—our nation has been led to a reconciliation with its history and an opportunity to capture the positive aspects of the Vietnam experience. One message that can not be denied—as demonstrated by the memorial effort—is that the men and women who served in Vietnam have come of age as leaders of their country.

Photo by John Carnes/TVL Associates, Inc.

Since dedication, more than 2 million visitors—an average of 10,000 a day—have viewed the Memorial. The Department of Interior will handle grounds maintenance and upkeep beginning in May.

Robert Doubek served in Vietnam as an Air Force intelligence officer in 1969. He is an attorney now working with a commercial real estate development firm in Washington, D.C.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much, Mr. Doubek.
Ms. Lin.

STATEMENT OF MAYA LIN, NEW YORK, NY

Ms. LIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your taking the time to listen to me.

Senator BUMPERS. Ms. Lin, you have a nice, soft voice, so therefore you have to hold the microphone closer.

Ms. LIN. Okay.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you.

Ms. LIN. In honor of the men and women of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in the Vietnam War.

This sentence is at the heart of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, inscribed at the apex where the two walls of the memorial meet.

The memorial honors all those who served equally. It encompasses all people who come to see it. Vietnam veterans of any race, rank or sex who were a part of that war are honored equally. The memorial, in listing the names chronologically, becomes a sequence in time in which the returning veteran may place him or herself, remembering individual memories and special friends. With one's own image reflected in the names, one becomes a part of the memorial. It is far more than merely a list of the dead. It heals the living, and it is representative of all those who served.

The names in their chronological ordering was to me the most realistic way to touch all those who were a part of that war or knew someone who had served in that war. With a name, you can remember everything about a person, unlike a pictorial representation which may capture a certain person or event, which may speak to some people but not to others. The trouble with representational work for this war is that unlike the Iwo Jima Memorial, which commemorates a specific event that people know of and can relate to, there was no such single event that could represent the Vietnam War. Furthermore, as we are witnessing today, there is no one single person or group that can satisfy all people who were involved in the war.

The current attempt to complete the memorial three years after it has been dedicated, by satisfying one group, will leave the doors wide open for other groups that also want to be pictorially represented, and despite the limiting clause in Senator Durenberger's proposed bill, Section 2, paragraph 4, that tries to prevent further additions after this addition, there are no real limits if there is no limiting principle.

We must, if we are to prevent further changes to the design, adhere to the fact that it underwent the proper legislative and aesthetic channels to be built, and that it was complete and dedicated and given over to this country in 1984.

I am strongly opposed to any additions or alterations to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, however worthy. I cannot see where it will all end, and I can see numerous factions who will now want to be included, despite the preventative clause of this bill.

Furthermore, in allowing this addition, you create the assumption that our national monuments can be tampered with by private interest groups years after their dedication, years after the monu-

ments have undergone the proper legislative and aesthetic approval processes in which they were built.

The memorial has existed peacefully for five years. The number of visitors should attest to its acceptance. It is not the black ditch of shame and sorrow that critics had said it would be. Neither is it unpatriotic, reflecting at its apex the Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monuments. It directs our gaze towards these two great symbols of our nation, and greets the visitor with the American flag at the memorial's entrance plaza.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial honors all those who served with dignity and beauty. It is a living wall. People react with it, bringing emotions and memories to it, placing themselves within its chronological order, and finding their own time upon the wall. It heals the living, and it honors all Vietnam veterans who served.

In the simplicity of its design is its strength to honor and to remember, but most importantly, to heal. As I described it over five years ago, the area contained within this memorial is a quiet place meant for personal reflection and private reckoning. All who come to it may bring their own thoughts, memories about friends, loved ones, times they remember.

The memorial does not put forth a specific image of that war. It allows each visitor to bring their own thoughts and memories to complete the memorial. It is not a blank slate but a memorial with a multitude of personal human meanings. It is as much for the living veteran as a remembrance of those that have died.

The addition of the three infantrymen not only produced a specific image that some obviously do not relate to; it also confuses the issue between what is representative of the living and what is representative of the dead, and I do not know if another addition is going to solve that problem. I do not know how many other veterans groups will want to be represented.

The fact that the new addition of a woman is being proposed only to equalize or neutralize the power of the first addition seems a misdirected attempt at equality for women. Is an addition to an addition the best and most honorable way of paying homage to the women who served in Vietnam, especially since the proponents of the addition agree that the memorial's walls pay equal and honorable homage to all Vietnam veterans? Does the addition of a female nurse statue really do all women who served in the Vietnam War justice?

And if we are to attempt to include pictorially women who have served in the Vietnam War, what about the women who served in World War II? What is to stop someone from trying to add a female statue to the Iwo Jima Memorial?

There is no national memorial to the women who have served in the wars this country has fought in, and I feel a memorial to women is definitely needed, but I question whether an addition to an addition to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is the best or most honorable solution.

I have been asked to be on the Board of the National Advisory Committee of the Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation, established by Representative Mary Oakar, Public Law 99-610, which will recognize the service of all women of the Armed Forces that have served our country, and I look forward to

being part of this much-needed project to build a properly placed, carefully thought out memorial dedicated to all women who have served in the Armed Forces.

Should a memorial to the women that have served our country not be more than just an addition to an addition? Although those in favor of placing the nurse statue acknowledge that the original design honors equally all who served, in pursuing this addition, they further advance the misinterpretation of the memorial and threaten the peaceful sanctuary that the memorial has become by possibly opening the floodgates to numerous other factions who may want to revise or complete the memorial at a later date.

Where will it all end?

I urge you today to protect the integrity of the memorial by respecting it as it stands, as it was built and given over to this country three years ago. If we do not set up and abide by a limiting principle, then how will you be able to prevent further additions or alterations not only to this memorial, but to other national monuments as well?

I urge you to follow your own preventative clause of S. 2042, but give it the strength it needs to withstand future attempts at alteration. Declare the Vietnam Veterans Memorial complete and that no further additions or alterations to the site shall be authorized or undertaken.

Thank you.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you, Ms. Lin.

Colonel Bane.

STATEMENT OF COL. MARY EVELYN BANE, USMC (RETIRED), ARLINGTON, VA

Colonel BANE. Mr. Chairman, my name is Mary Evelyn Bane. I live in Arlington, Virginia, and I have lived in the Washington metropolitan area for a total of almost 19 nonconsecutive years. I retired in 1977 from a 26-year career in the United States Marine Corps in the grade of colonel. I never served in Vietnam, only a few women Marines did, and they were in Saigon, but I was in active service during the entire period of the war there. My career was in personnel management and, like most Marine officers, I had a variety of assignments and experiences, including two tours at our famous or infamous Parris Island training recruits, and an assignment with the Joint Staff in France. All of my male Marine colleagues did serve in Vietnam, many of them more than once, and some of their names are on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

I am opposed to the installation of a statue of a woman at the site of the VVM for both artistic and philosophical reasons, artistically, because it is at odds with the design as well as the theme of the memorial. I will admit that I opposed the memorial in principle when it was first proposed, not the design but the idea. I felt we had ample memorials in Washington, and I was still ambivalent about the Vietnam War. But as I read more about the concept and purpose, particularly the determination to make no political statement and to honor equally all American service personnel who served in that war, I came to accept it. Any lingering doubts were dispelled with my first visit late on a cold, grey December after-

noon, alone except for a young man whom I was able to assist in locating the name of his very best buddy. The simplicity and serenity of the wall in its pastoral setting create a powerful emotional effect, and a soothing one.

The essence of the memorial is now threatened by the very real possibility that installation of a statue recognizing a group by sex will instill a desire for representation on the site by other groups, for example, Native Americans, helicopter crewmen, Navy medics. The memorial would cease to be an equalizing and unifying force and focus attention on categories rather than unity.

I oppose the female statue philosophically simply because I am a woman. This may seem unfathomable to the statue's proponents, but perhaps I can explain. From the beginning of my chosen career in what most will agree is a macho outfit, I tried hard to be the best Marine I was capable of being. When I was commissioned, fewer than 1 percent of the officers in the Marine Corps were female. Women were assigned to women's billets, and restricted to a handful of occupational specialties considered appropriate for women. Over the years, through the combined efforts of many, many people, of which I am happy to say I am one, the concept of how women could and should serve their country has changed. The huge increase in the military's population required by the Vietnam War hastened the changes.

Nevertheless, in 1973 when I, then a lieutenant colonel, was assigned as the Marine Corps member of a Department of Defense ad hoc group studying the recruitment and processing of non-prior service personnel, the Civil Service GS–15 chair of the group complained to the Commandant of the Marine Corps that he had not appointed a real Marine.

My point here is that sex is an accident of birth. I chose to be a Marine and worked hard at it, and spent a career combatting discrimination based on sex. I feel every service person should be recognized for what he or she accomplished as a soldier, sailor, Marine or airman. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial recognizes American military members for their service in Vietnam, irrespective of sex, rank, service, race, or occupational specialty. To single out one of these criteria for special recognition in the form of a statue on the site of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial would not only violate the integrity of the design, but would be discriminatory.

Thank you.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much.

Ms. Stoy.

STATEMENT OF DIANE B. STOY, ARLINGTON, VA

Ms. STOY. Mr. Chairman, my name is Diane Bernhardt Stoy. I am a resident of Arlington, Virginia. I am a registered nurse and am currently employed as the Operations Director of the Lipid Research Clinic here in Washington at the George Washington University Medical Center, a position I have held for the past 14 years. I am also a member of a family which suffered a loss in Vietnam when my first cousin, identical to me in age and in being raised in New Jersey, Private John S. Cartwright, was killed in action in May 1967.

My personal appearance here and my opposition to the proposed addition of a nurse statue is based on my position of pro-unity and not one of being anti-nurse, for in the last 21 years since I have graduated from nursing school I have been an active and dedicated member of the profession. I have fought tirelessly through my work and also through my professional writing to advance the nursing profession, and to gain recognition for the contribution that we nurses have made to the health and welfare of our country and our citizens. I also recognize, as so many other witnesses here, the unselfish and heroic contribution made by my fellow women who served in the war.

Rather, my position opposing the addition of the statue is based on pro-unity because I do not agree with equal time and representation for every ethnic group, religion, minority and occupation represented within the Vietnam veterans as a group.

I do believe strongly that the addition of the statue would seriously erode the national unity that the memorial, I believe, has successfully brought behind all the men and women who served in Vietnam. I have painfully followed the evolution of this memorial since its germinal phase. I did so knowing that if and when the memorial became a reality, I would have the courage to go down there and stand there and run my fingers over the name of my cousin John Cartwright on that wall.

And although I wholeheartedly supported the choice of Maya Lin's design of the wall, I did have difficulty as I attempted to try to be an objective listener to those groups who felt the memorial, as set forth by Lin, was incomplete without the flag post and the human sculpture that depicted the heroism of the war.

I followed that debate very closely, as did other families who lost loved ones in the war, and those who were fortunate to have their men and women return home safely. Eventually I agreed that the selection of Hart's three infantrymen was the appropriate human symbol for the memorial. I can tell you that this has taken time and many, many visits, alone and with my family and friends, to come to the point where I feel the success and the healing power that the wall, the flag and the infantrymen convey.

After so much personal grief about my family's loss, and also so much personal internal conflict about the war itself, I have finally come to a point where I am comforted to know and to see and to feel that we have a national memorial here in Washington which successfully honors all who served and which promotes healing of our painful personal as well as national loss.

To disturb that successful triumvirate, the wall, the flag and the infantrymen, by adding the nurse statue would be, in my opinion, an injustice to all of us.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much.

Mr. Kilgus?

STATEMENT OF COL. DONALD W. KILGUS, USAF (RETIRED), ALEXANDRIA, VA

Colonel KILGUS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am Colonel Don Kilgus of Alexandria, Virginia, and I speak as an individual, but to understand my views, you need to know both who and what I am.

I am an American fighting man. For 25 years it was my privilege to serve in the forces that guard our nation and our way of life. Those words paraphrase the opening of the U.S. Military Code of Conduct written to guide our POWs. I am a fighter pilot. No group is better represented among our Vietnam POWs. The Code says I will keep the faith with my fellow prisoners.

All military action is a team effort. You rely on your comrades and you keep the faith. When one of us is shot down or wounded, others keep the faith, the rescue folks, the medics, and those who help us from hospital to homeland.

One last Code of Conduct phrase. I will trust in my God and the United States of America. The American people, too, must keep the faith.

I am a career officer, a lifer, in Vietnam vernacular, and I volunteered for eight missions to Vietnam, from 1964 to 1973, logged 624 missions total, and 214 over North Vietnam. I did not have to go, but I kept going back for two reasons. In 1964 I worked closely with the Vietnamese people, saw their need, and I volunteered to return first because I believe in our involvement.

Second, as more friends were lost, I felt a personal need. This MIA bracelet bears the name of one friend, Mike McElhanon. I will never take this bracelet off because it represents my personal keeping of the faith.

So my views then are those of an American fighting man, fighter pilot, lifer and volunteer.

My first reaction was that a memorial was not needed, because I did my duty without thought of recognition. But others needed a memorial. They were plucked from the springtime of their life, some not knowing, as I, why they went. They were citizen soldiers who served in combat only to return to a society that failed to recognize or appreciate the intensity of that experience.

A memorial was needed, and as time has proven, it has healed wounds and provided all with the larger, ultimate lesson of Vietnam. I did not help with that memorial initially, nor did some who would now alter its message. It grew from support mostly of one-term citizen soldiers who asked only that society keep the faith with those they send into combat, imprisonment or death.

The memorial came to be with three infantrymen, three ethnic groups, and I said, hey, where is Navy, Air Force, the fighter pilot and my buddies with whom I had kept the faith?

But I know now that those were shallow thoughts, for how do you recognize all services, groups and skills, not on a whole parade ground, and not by piling on the bandwagon one group at a time seeking separate rather than team recognition.

You need simple symbolism, for no team member is more important than another.

The foot soldier ultimately takes and holds ground, and this fighter pilot accepts that selection symbolizing our total team. The diverse backgrounds of the citizen soldiers on that statue remind that our military forces come from the breadth and serve at the bidding of society at large.

A visit to the memorial is not to see but to experience. Those not with us are all there, graven in the polished stone, and we have kept the faith, regardless of service or specialty.

But there is a larger lesson of Vietnam that cannot fail to be grasped looking from single statue to simple stone: the enormity of the losses etched across that stone make clear what we experienced and what America must consider next time.

When I saw that message, I thanked those who, by supporting this monument, have kept the faith with all members of our military team living or dead. To break the simplicity of this message is to break faith with the names on the wall, the contributors to its construction, and all who served. To add one statue, one additional group, however worthy, is to deny the concept of team over self that helped me survive.

This June, Mike McElhanon's daughters will come to see their dad's name on the wall. Please do not force them to make their way through some supermarket of statuary that will inevitably slight some group and dilute the message. The memorial as it stands is complete, it keeps the faith, and it is enough.

Thank you, Senator.

[The prepared statement of Colonel Kilgus follows:]

STATEMENT
by
DONALD W. KILGUS
Colonel, USAF (Retd)

Given Before
The Senate SubCommittee on Public Lands
Concerning S. 2042

23 February, 1988

Good Afternoon.

My name is Colonel Don Kilgus of Alexandria, Virginia. I am grateful for the opportunity today to share my thoughts with you concerning our Vietnam Memorial. Much of your deliberation on the bill before you must focus not on factual matters, but on feelings and on a sense of what best fulfills the purpose of the memorial - its message to those who served, and to all who see it. I speak as an individual. I make no claim of representing a group. Yet we are all part of groups, many groups, in our lifetime. For you to fully evaluate my views you need to know, in some detail, who I am. I Am An American Fighting Man. For 25 years it was my very great honor to Serve In The Forces That Guard Our Nation, And Our Way Of Life. Recognizing your recent sensitivity to plagiarism, I must quickly point out that those are not my words. They only slightly paraphrase the opening of the United States Military Code of Conduct. As you know, that code was written following the Korean War to guide America's military members if, God forbid, they found themselves Prisoners of War. For eight years of my life I came very close to needing that code. Who Am I?

I Am A Fighter Pilot. I need not remind you that no group is better represented among those who endured long years of captivity as a POW, or among those who remain - today - Missing In Action. The Code says, "I Will Keep Faith With My Fellow Prisoners..." This is merely an extension of a basic tenet every fighting man knows - combat is a team effort. You rely on your buddies, and they rely on you - You Keep The Faith.

For a fighter pilot, the closest buddy is your wingman. For an infantryman it may be the troop protecting your flank. As our technology advances we place increasing reliance on those who ready, repair, and support the equipment on which our lives depend. They may not look the enemy in the eye, but they too Keep The Faith, insuring through long fatiguing hours that our equipment will do the job and help us return safely. When one of us is shot down or wounded, there are others who Keep The Faith -in the rescue role, the administering of medical aid, and prompt Medical Evacuation to more sophisticated care and ultimately to our homeland.

Combat Arms, Combat Support, and Non-Combatant participants; separate groups, but all forming one team that must Keep the Faith when America sends military forces into combat.

Before I leave the Code of Conduct there is one last phrase, one that served many of my contemporaries well as they endured the long dark years of captivity; "I Will Trust In My God, And The United States Of America ..." Yes, in a larger and most important sense, the American People are part of the team each American Fighting Man relies on in combat, one, and the most important, of those several "groups" who must Keep The Faith.

Who am I? I am a Career Professional Officer; a "Lifer" in the vernacular so prevalent in the dialog of 15/20 years ago, when controversy over Vietnam was at its height. My military career began before Vietnam. While almost one third of that career was occupied with Vietnam, I had a military career before, and returned to other military career duties after, Vietnam.

Who Am I? I am a Volunteer. I hasten to advise you that my wife too, Kept The Faith because I VOLUNTEERED for eight separate Vietnamese tours from 1964 to 1973, and I'm still married to the same lady. Others who have addressed you represent Volunteer Groups - perhaps from a different perspective. They didn't have to go, nor did I. Why did I volunteer to keep going back? There were two basic reasons:

First, let me describe my total Vietnam record. I have eight separate tours in Vietnam; 1964 to 1973. That covers trips from six weeks to a full year's duration. It covers duty in Vietnam and Thailand, in the O-1, F-100, and F-105 Aircraft, and in every Air Force mission from Forward Air Controller and Weather Reconnaissance thru Close Air Support and deep strikes into North Vietnam; from Combat Rescue to Wild Weasel Surface-To-Air Missile Suppression Missions. I logged 624 missions, 214 over North Vietnam, was credited with a MIG-17 probable kill, selected to participate in the Son Tay POW rescue mission, and was the Force Commander for all Wild Weasel Forces protecting our planes from surface-to-air missiles during the largest bomber attack in history. That happened in December of 1972, when our POW's in North Vietnam finally knew that the American people would Keep The Faith to secure their return. In a word, I was there, from start to finish.

During my initial tour in Vietnam (1964) I was a Forward Air Control Pilot. I flew to remote outposts, read daily intelligence reports, and rubbed shoulders with the Vietnamese people, military and civilian, who had direct contacts with those who threatened their way of life. I learned first hand what the war was about and believed in our involvement. I also had the luxury of time - time to read

Bernard Fall's excellent books on the French experience in "IndoChina" and Richard Buttinger's superb historical study of the Vietnamese People; their long record of independence as well as their days of Chinese subjugation and French colonialism. In summary, my involvement began with a knowledge of what the war was about and a belief that our assistance was needed and appropriate. I volunteered because I believed in our involvement in Vietnam!

As America's involvement continued, and as more of my friends became fatalities, MIA, or POW's a second motivation gripped me - a personal need to Keep The Faith. You see on my wrist an MIA bracelet - the name engraved on it is Michael O. McElhanon. I knew Mac personally, checked him out for the hazardous, volunteer MISTY mission which involved directing pinpoint strikes on targets in North Vietnam. One day in August of 1968 he did not return. I've worn this bracelet continuously since 1970; it's part of the baseline on my annual Air Force EKG. I will never take it off because it represents my personal commitment to Keeping the Faith with my comrades in arms.

Who am I? In summary, I am an American Fighting Man, a Fighter Pilot, a "Lifer," an Officer, and a Volunteer for Vietnam Service.

I would now like to briefly describe my personal reactions as the Vietnam Memorial went from genesis to its existing presence on public land near the Lincoln Memorial.

My first reaction as I read of the efforts for a memorial was that it was not needed. I had, after all, only done my duty there as a military member. I had volunteered for that duty, and to be blunt, we had lost the war! I served my country in uniform with never a thought of personal recognition and I sought none. Once, I was forced to eject from an F-105 crippled by enemy fire over Son Tay. Losing an airplane, much less a war, is a very personal thing. I never felt bailing out was a "Red Badge of Courage" to be held high or bragged about. Rather I tended to wish I had done something a little better to avoid the loss. In any event I preferred not to talk about it. However, I gradually came to realize that others could never share that view. They <u>needed</u> to talk about their Vietnam experience and they NEEDED a Memorial. Who were they?

They were the ones who were plucked from the springtime of their life to serve in difficult circumstances. Some did not know, as I did, why they were there. They had not chosen the military as a career. By volunteering for the military, or by answering their nation's call to arms, they epitomized the best aspects of our nation's traditional reliance on the citizen soldier. They served in COMBAT, only to return to a society that failed to realize the intensity of that experience - one that inevitably changes its participants for

the rest of their lives. The returnees were not recognized or appreciated.

Yes, a memorial was needed, to recognize those Citizen Soldiers and, as time has proven, to heal wounds and to provide our society with the ultimate "Lesson of Vietnam." I did not help with that memorial, nor was it initially sponsored by our US society, by our Congress, or by those who would now add to its message. Rather, it grew in large measure from the support of one-term soldiers, Citizen Soldiers who asked only that our Society Keep The Faith with those they send forth to face combat, imprisonment, death, or at least a totally life changing experience. At the minimum those citizen soldiers felt a need to Keep The Faith with their buddies who did not return.

The Memorial came to be. A flag and statuary was added. Again my initial reaction was not positive. Three infantrymen from three ethnic groups. Where was Army, Navy, Air Force? Where was the fighter pilot who had given so much? Where were MY buddies with whom I had Kept The Faith?

Shallow reactions as I came to realize. How do you honor the pilot? Put a G-suit on his statue and you mark him a fighter pilot. Then where is the tanker pilot who gave you the precious gas to return from the mission? He was part of the team, the buddy you relied on though his mission was "only" Combat Support. Then too, where is the rescue helicopter crew, those whose motto is "That Others May Live." They brought me home one day when the alternatives were lousy - they were members of the team we all rely on when we go into combat. No team member is more important than another.

How do you grasp the totality of Combat, Combat Support, the Non-Combatants who patched me up -- all part of the team. How do you include all services, all ethnic groups, all skills. Not on one parade ground, you don't! And not by piling on the band wagon, one group at a time, seeking personal rather than team recognition. No, you need symbolism, the simplicity of a thought or a vista that is all encompassing.
Do not pass judgment on this bill unless you too visit the memorial. You will then know that a visit is not to see, but to experience. Those not with us are ALL there, graven in the polished marble. In that respect we have Kept The Faith with those who did not return, regardless of their service or specialty.

The infantry grouping represents the footsoldier, the one who must ultimately take and hold ground to achieve our national objectives when military force is invoked. Of course he needs my fighter pilot support in trying times, and medical aid when he's wounded, but I accept his presence as symbolizing the totality of our military forces. In addition the diverse ethnic backgrounds and Citizen Soldier aspects of the infantry grouping remind veteran and civilian alike that our

Military forces come from the breadth, and meet danger at the bidding of society at large.

This is the "Lesson Of Vietnam" that cannot fail to be grasped by the viewer who looks from the statue grouping toward the wall; the enormity of the losses etched across that wide spreading wall -- losses that are worthwhile in the pursuit of great ideals, but whose potential must be understood by the public at large before we ever again demand such sacrifice, either from citizen soldier or lifer. When I saw THAT message, I humbly give great credit to those who, by persisting in constructing this monument have said to ALL members of our US Military Team, living, surviving, missing or dead, "We have kept the faith."

To break the simplicity of this monument and thus the power of its message is to Break Faith with those whose names are graven on the wall or who contributed to its construction. At This point to add one statue, representing one additional group, however worthy their participation in Vietnam may be, is to detract from the simplicity of the monument that makes its message so clear. It is also to deny the concept of team over self that enabled so many of us to survive the rigors of combat.

This June Mike McElhanon's daughters will visit Washington DC for the first time and I am prepared to show them where their Dad's name is graven on the memorial wall. Please, don't make a decision on this bill that will force them and future visitors to make their way through some supermarket of statuary that will inevitably leave out some crucial contributors to the combat team and dilute the purity and impact of the Memorial's message. To do so would Break The Faith with those who served so well and gave the American People their last full measure of trust.

The Vietnam Memorial as it stands is complete - it Keeps The Faith. It is enough!

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you, Colonel.
Ms. Mastran?

STATEMENT OF SHELLEY S. MASTRAN, GREAT FALLS, VA

Ms. MASTRAN. My name is Shelley Mastran. For the last 15 years I have been an Associate Professorial Lecturer in Geography at the George Washington University and the University of Maryland. My specialty is the American cultural landscape. In recent years a main focus of my cultural landscape course has been the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, its design, its purpose and its impact. Hence, I have experienced firsthand the attitudes of the post-Vietnam generation toward the Memorial. I myself am of the Vietnam generation, and my husband is a Vietnam veteran.

A monument is a construction designed to keep alive the memory of a person or historical event. It enhances our awareness of the past. It reminds us of another community to which we belong, and thus provides a sense of cultural continuity and purpose. A monument thus functions in a symbolic way. It communicates the importance essence of the person or event memorialized.

The most successful monuments, therefore, are the most symbolic or abstract. The more specifically representational or literal the monument, the less likely it is to survive the passage of time and speak to subsequent generations.

The Vietnam Memorial is the most successful memorial in the United States in terms of eloquence of expression, number of visitors, constancy of visitation, and of course, the emotion generated. The memorial has become truly hallowed ground.

To add a statue of a female nurse to the memorial will compromise not only the integrity of the memorial, but also the cause of women. The memorial as it now stands is for all men and women who served in the war; the names of all who died, including the eight women, are on the wall. The infantry statutes represent the essence of those who fought and died. Thus, the monument speaks symbolically, reminding us of a special community of men and women of the past and the event in which they were involved.

To add a statue of a woman nurse will destroy that unity and homogeneity that the monument now conveys. Adding a statue of a female nurse will represent a Disneyfication of the landscape, suggesting a theme park with a statue for each of the subpopulations who contributed to the war. The symbolization that the monument now achieves would be lost.

The women who served in Vietnam deserve to be honored, but to add a statue of a female nurse to the existing memorial is clearly an afterthought, would be perceived as such, and therefore is actually demeaning to the role of women.

Furthermore, the nurse's statue would necessarily be separate, suggesting that women played perhaps a subsidiary role in Vietnam. Such a statue would seem at cross purposes with the feminist cause.

Let a monument be built to honor the women who served in Vietnam, but not at the present memorial site. And if such a monument is to be built, why not also represent the women who fought their own battles at home, the mothers, the wives, sisters

and daughters of the men who fought and died 12,000 miles away. They also serve who only stand and wait.

Thank you.

Senator BUMPERS. Thank you very much.

Colonel Bane, to add a little levity to this, you know, those of us who were in the Marine Corps do have a tendency to be a little arrogant.

Colonel BANE. I have never noticed.

Senator BUMPERS. You know, the best way in the world to get my children to leave my house is to start telling war stories. They have no interest in hearing it.

But Colonel, there is a man who was a liaison for the Navy to the United States Senate and later became Senator McCain from Arizona, and he is just as arrogant about being a Navy pilot, and as you know, he spent seven years in Vietnam in prison, and we used to batter each other—you know how the Navy and Marine Corps feel about each other. And so one day I said, John, did you ever hear the story about 10,000 gobs laid down their swabs to fight one sick Marine, and 10,000 more jumped up and swore it was the best fight they had ever seen?

He said, yes, I heard that. He said, you do not understand, Dale. He said, I really wanted to be a Marine, too, but they would not take me because my folks were married to each other. [Laughter.]

That comes under the category of things I wish I had thought of first.

First of all, I want to say to all of you, as well as all of those who preceded you, that you have spoken about as persuasively in behalf of your cause as I have ever heard in the 13 plus years I have been in the Senate, and so I compliment you on your preparation, and I also certainly understand and applaud your very strong feelings on both sides of the issue.

It is a very difficult thing. I might say to you that when a bill has 52 co-sponsors and there are only 100 Senators, that will give you some idea of what is going to happen with this bill.

But, Ms. Lin, I want to especially extend my personal thanks and gratitude to you for what I think is the most powerful memorial in Washington.

[Applause.]

Senator BUMPERS. I promise you that the feeling of all of us on both sides of this issue does not in any way diminish our respect and gratitude to you, and I am very pleased you could be with us.

And with that, let me ask you this. What is wrong with just two square feet out of 2.2 acres? If you knew that was going to be the last addition or alteration to this memorial, would that change your thinking in any way?

Ms. LIN. Before I answer that, I guess I have been talking, I guess, to a couple of congressional aides, and I asked them how much faith could I have in your preventative clause, and two responses were, well, what Congress says this year they can unsay next year, at which point, in answer to your question, I just do not know if a preventative clause is going to work if it is a matter of after this one, then it will be okay, because there is no principle on which you are limiting yourself except having the faith in that clause.

I just do not know. And I am very concerned, as you know, about the flag issue and the fact that in order for them to have gotten those signatures, they have sometimes said, maybe—they have not made it clear that there is a flag on site. I have made it clear to some of the aides in Durenberger's office that the wording in Section 2, paragraph 4 would be added "or alterations" and that it should be changed from "should" to "shall" which would make it a little bit stronger.

But I just do not know how strong it really is when it is pretty much after this, you know, sort of a thing.

Senator BUMPERS. In all fairness, Ms. Lin, it does not make any difference. I have learned, how powerful and strong you make the language, Congress, if they feel like undoing it, they will undo it, and there is not anybody in the Senate that can give you any assurance that this will be the be-all/end-all of the Vietnam Memorial if the statue is added.

Ms. LIN. I am very concerned because, as someone called me up last week quite well intentioned, another woman, and said, well, I have heard about the nurse statue, and maybe I do not quite agree with this, but I would really like to see a 24 hour armed, full dress honor guard salute marching up and down the walls. And she was extremely well intentioned, and she was very well meaning, and she truly cared for and liked the memorial. And I spent 20 minutes on the phone talking to a complete stranger as to why that would not be appropriate and how, just because we would want to see this or we would want to see that, that does not make it good, or the American public and the memorial, which now owns it, and the assumption that is being put forth is one that we can go and alter and change.

Even if the cause is worthy, I just do not know if that is good policy.

Senator BUMPERS. You heard Mr. Brown testify on behalf of the Fine Arts Commission. Let me say that one of the things that does concern me a little bit about this, and it has nothing to do with the correctness of this, but Congress has obviously recognized a long time ago that it ought not to involve itself this deeply in design and location and additions and deletions and so on. This was admittedly a shifting of responsibility so we would not have to face the responsibility, and I can tell you that nobody in the Senate wants to offend a single woman in the country by voting against this.

But one of the reasons we voted a long time ago to set up both the Capital Planning Commission and the Fine Arts Commission was in recognition that as politicians we have a tendency to be cowards. I used to say you can take ten people and bring them to town and drive a bunch of politicians all over this Hill.

And the precedent of ignoring both of the Commission's feelings about this disturbs me just a little bit because, as I say, if Congress is going to start injecting itself into every decision, then you and I both know what that may mean, every constituent group.

But let me ask you this question. Can you conceive of the addition of this statue of a woman, honoring the 8,000 or 10,000 women who served there, can you conceive of that diminishing anybody's experience at that memorial?

Ms. LIN. I think it will begin to make people read that now that there are two categories represented, why is not a third, and why is not a fourth. And if you accept just one, then that one group will stand for the whole, but if there are two groups standing for the whole, you have sort of blown the game in the sense that now you are going to have a third. I just cannot see how that is not going to happen, especially if the Native American group has already requested.

That is part of the problem of this addition.

Senator BUMPERS. Do you consider yourself a feminist, Ms. Lin?

Ms. LIN. Absolutely. I am probably——

Senator BUMPERS. Well, I live with one. You do not have to apologize.

Ms. LIN. I do not know, I have talked to a lot of the people, and they have pretty much said if Hart's statues had not been there, we would not be doing this. To me, in a way, that looks like a tit for tat, you know, and I just do not know if you really equalize the situation by reducing sort of the game with national monuments into this tit for tat situation. I question that.

Senator BUMPERS. Do you think if we were going to do this it would have been better to have had the woman with the three men to begin with, as a part of that statue?

Ms. LIN. Yes. From what I had seen of the first edition of the three men, actually, they had changed the statues from an earlier edition since it did not agree with all races or whatever. I think if you were going to do something—I guess one of the reasons I have been mentioning this limiting principle, I am asking that the limiting principle be the fact that it has been dedicated, it was complete, it went through the Fine Arts Commission and it was finally dedicated and given over to the country in 1984. That is a very strong ground for limiting any more additions.

If you do it now, whether—I think there was a mention before that the Oakar bill is sort of a catch-all for all previous wars. Well, I mean, three years, five years, ten years, it is all in the past, in a way. I was hoping we could step into the present and work very hard at building a proper memorial at this point for women, because I really could not see someone going back to the Iwo Jima Memorial and placing down a woman. I do not think that would be effective, I do not think it equalizes out the situation.

Senator BUMPERS. I may stand correct on this, but I do not think there were any women on Iwo Jima until after that battle was well over.

Ms. LIN. Right, but Iwo Jima to me represents, when I see it, the memorial to World War II servicemen.

Senator BUMPERS. It represented to me a scared Marine who was on his way to Japan.

Ms. LIN. But that is the image put forth of our service for World War II veterans, or that is the one that I grew up with through childhood.

Senator BUMPERS. Let me say one other thing, Ms. Lin.

You know, this is not—I do not see this as a feminist issue. I see this as a simple case of immortalizing people who served their country. I think feminists would generally applaud it simply because they want women to be recognized, and as has been pointed

out by one of the proponents, they want children to know that women have very essential roles to fill in our society, including in the military.

Colonel Bane, as I say, this is a little bit off the mark, but do you favor women being placed in combat?

Colonel BANE. Not in the Marine Corps. No, sir, I do not.

Senator BUMPERS. It is okay for the Navy and Army?

Colonel BANE. That is right, the Navy and Army can have them if they want them.

No, considering the overall mission of the Marine Corps, which is the only service I really know very well, I cannot—you know, I think that it would be such a drawdown on the ability to carry out the mission that it would be self-defeating.

Senator BUMPERS. Let me ask this question, and let me suggest, Ms. Mastran, that you answer this question.

If you knew that this was going to be positively the last addition ever to the Vietnam Memorial, would you oppose it?

Ms. MASTRAN. Yes.

Senator BUMPERS. You would oppose it?

Ms. MASTRAN. Yes.

Senator BUMPERS. You agree with the Fine Arts Commission when they said they think the thing is complete now?

Ms. MASTRAN. Yes, definitely.

Senator BUMPERS. Let me just ask you the question, what is wrong with taking up a couple of square feet out there for a statue of a woman, 10,000 of whom served there?

Ms. MASTRAN. The issue is not square feet. You are not just taking two square feet, you are erecting a statue that is visible for many feet, for a considerable distance. And again, what everyone has already said here on this panel, it is not feet, it is symbolization of the monument that would be compromised.

Senator BUMPERS. If you visited this memorial, would the presence of that statue somehow or other diminish your experience there?

Ms. MASTRAN. I thought about that very thing, and I visited the memorial this Sunday, again, and I thought about—I tried to imagine that statue there, and tried to put myself in that mode, and yes, I believe it would detract.

The wall itself is extraordinarily powerful. Anything that would pull the eye or pull the crowd away from that wall——

Senator BUMPERS. Including the statue of the three men.

Ms. MASTRAN. Well, the statue of the three men I have always had difficulty with, but to put a third focus of attention there will diminish the wall.

Senator BUMPERS. Now we are in a fight about where the flags are going to go.

Ms. MASTRAN. Oh, please.

Senator BUMPERS. Well, I do not know. I cannot speak when there are 236 Members of the House who have already co-sponsored that. It is very difficult to know what might happen, but I must say, I cannot imagine that bill passing.

You are all strong patriots, and you love your country dearly, and I think people here on both sides of the aisle are probably opposed to that bill.

Well, I will not prolong this. I have enjoyed it. It has been very edifying to me, and I appreciate the time you have taken to come and present your views to us. Ms. Lin, we are especially pleased to recognize you this afternoon, and Mr. Doubek, for the magnificent work you did in preparing the monument.

Thank you all very much.

We will stand in recess until the call of the Chairman.

[Whereupon, at 4:25 p.m., the hearing adjourned.]

[Statement of Senators Cranston and Mikulski and Congressman Stark follow. Due to the voluminous nature of the other materials submitted they have been retained in subcommittee files.]

Statement of
Senator Alan Cranston
before the
Committee on Energy and Natural Resources
Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests
February 23, 1988

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, as a coauthor of S. 2042, I am delighted to appear before you today to urge your Subcommittee and the full Committee to report this legislation favorably in order to authorize the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project (VWMP) to establish a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (VVM) in Washington, D.C. I congratulate the Chairman for scheduling this hearing in such a timely manner -- just as he said he would last December.

I am delighted to note that S. 2042 is now sponsored by 54 members of the Senate.

The goal of the VWMP is to recognize the sacrifices and contributions made by women who served in the Vietnam conflict and to educate the public about the role of these women. As a charter member of the VWMP Congressional Advisory Panel, I have great admiration and respect for the commitment, effort, and fine work of the individuals associated with the VWMP in working to attain their goal.

As the Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, I know that the women who served in and with our Armed Forces with honor, strength, and commitment are often overlooked when our Nation recognizes its veterans.

And women veterans are still much less likely than their male counterparts to use veterans' benefits such as home loan guaranties and VA health care -- in part because they are not aware that such benefits are available. Many women veterans do not realize that some of their stress-related symptoms may have been caused by their service in Vietnam. I believe that the VWMP proposed statue by acknowledging the sacrifices made by women during the Vietnam conflict would accelerate the healing process for the women who served their country during this very difficult time.

Unfortunately, the efforts of supporters of the VWMP to complete the VVM with a statue of a woman veteran have been stymied. Late last year, Secretary of the Interior Donald P. Hodel endorsed the VWMP proposal and concluded that it was authorized by Public Law 96-297, the law providing for construction of the VVM. With the support of Secretary Hodel, every major veterans' organization, including those who are testifying before the Subcommittee today, and many members of Congress, the VWMP proposal was presented to the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) for consideration. Despite the very strong support for the project, on October 22, 1987, the CFA rejected it.

CFA Chairman J. Carter Brown, in a letter to Secretary Hodel explaining the CFA's rejection of the VWMP's proposal, said "the Commission believes that any added elements such as the proposed statue will have the appearance of an afterthought". I disagree.

Since I began working with the VWMP, I have been impressed by the project's dedication to ensuring, through careful planning, that the addition of the proposed statue would complement the existing Memorial. The bronze statue proposed by the VWMP is similar in appearance and demeanor to the statue of the three combat soldiers already in place at the Memorial. The proposed placement of the statue at the end of the Wall opposite to the end where the existing statue is placed, would, as Secretary Hodel has pointed out, provide a sense of completion and balance to the Memorial, allowing visitors to walk in a full circle as they visit the different elements at the Memorial site.

Mr. Brown has further said that women are recognized through the symbolism in the statue of the combat soldiers and by the inscription on the Wall of the names of the eight women who died in Vietnam. I do not agree that women veterans are sufficiently represented at the VVM. The "Three Fighting Men" statue has eloquently captured the emotions felt by many men who were involved in combat in Vietnam. However, because women were and are legally barred from combat, this statue does not represent the contributions made by women veterans. In addition, few visitors to the Wall have the opportunity to note the 8 women's names among the 58,146 names inscribed there. A statuary representation of the 10,000 women who served would provide a vivid reminder of the sacrifices and contributions made by these women during the Vietnam conflict.

I was deeply disappointed by the CFA's shortsighted decision. It prompted the introduction of separate bills last year by Senator

Durenberger and me -- S. J. Res. 215 and S. 1896 -- with the common goal of authorizing construction of the VWMP proposed statue but providing for different approval processes for the proposal. We have now merged our view points and developed a new proposal which resulted in S. 2042. As I proposed in S. 1896, S. 2042 includes the CFA in the approval process. I believe that bypassing the CFA, which has advised the President, Members of Congress, and various governmental agencies on matters pertaining to the appearance of Washington since the Commission was established by Congress in 1919, would send the wrong signal as to the value and merit of the proposed statue.

S. 2042 would also provide a timetable for the approval process. Under this measure, the Secretary of the Interior would be required within 30 days after the date of the enactment of this act to decide whether or not to approve the design and plans for the project. Should the Secretary fail either to approve or reject the plans within that 30 days, Secretarial approval would be considered, by operation of law, to have been given, and the VWMP proposal would be forwarded to the Fine Arts and National Capital Planning Commissions. Then, under the bill, if either Commission failed to report to the Secretary their approval or rejection of the proposal within 90 days after the plan is submitted to them, the approval of one or both of the Commissions, as appropriate, would be deemed, by operation of law, to be given.

Our bill further would express the sense of the Congress that establishment of the VWMP is a fitting and appropriate way to help

complete the process of recognition and healing for the men and women who served in the Vietnam conflict. In addition, the bill expresses the sense of the Congress that establishment of the statue is well within the scope of Public Law 96-297 and that the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissions should give weighty consideration to the sense of the Congress that a statue of a woman Vietnam veteran should be constructed at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial site.

S. 2042 also expresses the sense of the Congress that with the addition of the VWMP statue the Vietnam Veterans Memorial would be complete and that no further additions to the site should be authorized or undertaken. This provision should help alleviate concerns expressed by CFA Chairman Brown that the VWMP's statue would become the first in a long string of additions to the VVM. I believe that with the addition of the servicewoman the VVM would fulfill the original intent of the authorizing legislation enacted to honor the dedication and sacrifices of the women as well as the men who served on behalf of this nation during the Vietnam conflict. If your Subcommittee believes it would be appropriate and desirable, I urge that you seriously consider converting this sense-of-the-Congress language into a statutory direction as to the completeness of the VVM with the addition of the VWMP statue. Both Senator Durenberger and I would strongly support such a statutory direction.

Finally, I would like to address the issue of the commercialization of memorials. During the recent controversy over the VWMP, the

copyright agreement for the "Three Fighting Men" statue -- the statue that now accompanies the Wall -- received a great deal of publicity. According to a November 11, 1987, Washington Post article, the sculptor had, as of that date, collected $85,000 in royalties from the sale of souvenir reproductions of his combat soldier statue. In contrast, the designer of the Wall receives no royalties and holds no copyright for that exquisite, extraordinary design. I am deeply concerned that other sculptors of national memorials will also seek royalties and commercialize memorials designed to honor individuals who have served our country. For example, the sculptor of the "Lone Sailor" statue which is now part of the Navy memorial cited the "Three Fighting Men" copyright agreement when he negotiated the royalty arrangement for his sculpture and has received $100,000 in royalties from the sale of small reproductions sold to raise money for that monument.

To prevent commercialization of the VWMP statue, I strongly urge that the Committee consider adding a provision to S. 2042 that would specify that any copyright agreement for the VWMP statue must provide that all royalties from the sale of reproductions of the statue be paid to the United States Government. In the event you do so, a similar generic provision should probably also be added to the Commemorative Works on Certain Federal Lands in the District of Columbia Act, Public Law 99-652.

It is my hope that S. 2042 will serve as a rallying point in our effort to establish a woman Vietnam veteran statue. Proponents of the

VWMP must work together to convince the CFA and the National Capital Planning Commission of the desirability and merit of this project. I recognize that that may not be easy. But with the strong support of Congress, as evidenced by the 50 Senators sponsoring S. 2042, a greater coalescing of support at the grassroots level, the existing support of every major veterans' organization, and the endorsement of the Secretary of the Interior, I believe agreement can be reached with the two Commissions on the site and plans for this most fitting and appropriate addition in much the same way as the original proponents of the VVM had to overcome and take into account similar opposition over the fundamental design of the memorial.

I urge your Subcommittee to favorably report S. 2042 to the full Committee and to consider carefully making the modifications I have raised today. I offer you the full cooperation of the Veterans' Affairs Committee and its staff as you proceed with consideration of this legislation.

BARBARA A. MIKULSKI
MARYLAND

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2003

STATEMENT BEFORE THE ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS, AND FORESTS

BY SENATOR BARBARA A. MIKULSKI

FEBRUARY 23, 1988

MR. CHAIRMAN, I WANT TO STATE MY STRONG SUPPORT FOR LEGISLATION AUTHORIZING THE CONSTRUCTION OF A STATUE COMMEMORATING THE SERVICE OF WOMEN IN THE VIETNAM WAR.

I HAVE SPOKEN WITH WOMEN VETERANS OF VIETNAM. I KNOW THAT SOME 10,000 WOMEN SERVED WITH VALOR AND DISTINCTION IN THAT CONFLICT. EIGHT OF THOSE MILITARY WOMEN DIED THERE WHILE ON ACTIVE DUTY.

TOO FEW AMERICANS REMEMBER THAT THROUGHOUT THIS NATION'S HISTORY, AND ESPECIALLY DURING THE VIETNAM CONFLICT, WOMEN SERVED IN THE MILITARY WITH BRAVERY, PROFESSIONALISM, AND EFFECTIVENESS. AS A MALE VETERAN SAID

RECENTLY, THERE WOULD BE TWICE AS MANY NAMES ON "THE WALL" - - THE EXISTING VIETNAM MEMORIAL -- IF WOMEN HAD NOT SERVED THIS NATION WITH SUCH VALOR AND COURAGE DURING THAT WAR.

LAST SEPTEMBER I WROTE THE PRESIDENT ABOUT THIS PROPOSED ADDITION TO THE VIETNAM MEMORIAL. IN THAT LETTER, I COMMENDED THE PRESIDENT FOR SHOWING HIS SUPPORT FOR WOMEN VETERANS IN THE PAST. WHILE COMMEMORATING NATIONAL WOMEN VETERANS RECOGNITION WEEK, HE STATED:

> "IT IS FITTING THAT WE, AS A NATION, EXPRESS OUR GREAT APPRECIAITON TO OUR WOMEN VETERANS FOR THEIR VITAL CONTRIBUTION TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY."

I BELIEVE THE PROPOSED ADDITION TO THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL IS AN APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY DISPLAY OF OUR APPRECIATION.

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR DONALD HODEL IS OF THE SAME OPINION. LAST OCTOBER, HE PUBLICALLY SUPPORTED THE PROJECT AFTER HEARING FIRST-HAND FROM WOMEN VETERANS OF THE VIETNAM WAR ABOUT THE MERITS OF AND NEED FOR THE STATUE.

NEXT IN LINE TO APPROVE THE PROJECT BEFORE CONSTRUCTION COULD BEGIN WAS THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS. UNFORTUNATELY, ITS CHAIRMAN, J. CARTER BROWN DOES NOT SEE THE NEED FOR THE STATUE. I MET WITH HIM IN DECEMBER TO DISCUSS HIS OPPOSITION TO THE PROJECT. HE SAID ANY ADDITION TO THE EXISTING MEMORIAL WOULD DISRUPT ITS AESTHETIC INTEGRITY AND WOULD OPEN THE DOOR FOR FURTHER ADDITIONS FROM SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, WOMEN ARE NOT A SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP. PATRIOTISM AND SERVICE KNOW NO GENDER BOUNDARIES. I WROTE J. CARTER BROWN AND TOLD HIM THIS, ENCOURAGING HIM TO RECONSIDER HIS POSITION. I HAVE SUBMITTED A COPY OF THIS LETTER FOR THE RECORD.

AS YOU WILLSEE FROM MY LETTTER, I AM CONCERNED ABOUT MR. BROWN'S INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE.

I AM NOT AN ARTIST. BUT I HAVE SEEN THE PROPOSED STATUE. I BELIEVE IT IS APPROPRIATE AND IT COMMEMORATES THE VALOR AND SACRIFICE OF WOMEN VETERANS WHO SERVED IN VIETNAM. I AGREE WITH WILLIAM PENN MOTT, JR., DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, WHO BELIEVES THE STATUE OF A WOMAN COULD BE ADDED TO THE EXISTING MEMORIAL WITHOUT IMPAIRING ITS INTEGRITY.

IT'S CONSTRUCTION WOULD BE FINANCED COMPLETELY WITH DONATIONS, SO THE LEGISLATION BEFORE THE COMMITTEE WOULD NOT COST TAXPAYERS A SINGLE DOLLAR.

I BELIEVE THIS LEGISLATION WILL ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF EQUITY AND HONOR IN THE MILITARY. WOMEN SUFFERED FROM ALL THE TRAUMA AND TOIL OF VIETNAM. THEY HAVE ENDURED TORMENT AND SHED TEARS OVER THAT WAR. THEY SHOULD BE HONORED WITH THE SAME APPRECIATION WE GIVE TO ALL VETERANS.

BARBARA A. MIKULSKI
MARYLAND

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2003

January 19, 1988

Mr. J. Carter Brown
Chairman, Commission of Fine Arts
708 Jackson Place
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Chairman Brown:

Thank you for coming to my office last month to discuss the completion of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial with a statue in honor of those women who served in the U.S. Armed Forces in Vietnam.

While we both acknowledge the power and poignancy of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, I believe you are wrong to discredit the proposed addition of a statue honoring women veterans who served in Vietnam. I do not believe, as you suggested, that 31 of my colleagues are ill-advised or uninformed in cosponsoring legislation mandating the erection of this statue on the National Mall. I will do all I can to enlist the support of my other 69 colleagues for this legislation.

I would like to reiterate two points I made at our meeting. First, women are not a narrow "special interest group". And second, the addition of this statue honoring women veterans of Vietnam will not "open the floodgates" and encourage other proposed additions to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

I hope you will reconsider your position on this issue. I look forward to discussing this matter with you again in the future.

Sincerely,

Barbara A. Mikulski
United States Senate

BAM:tpc

FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK
9TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEES:
WAYS AND MEANS
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
SELECT NARCOTICS

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

February 23, 1988

Hon. Dale Bumpers
Chairman
Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks & Forests
SD-308

Dear Mr. Chairman:

It would be deeply appreciated if the attached statement could be included in the hearing record on S. 2042.

If you agree that the issue has merit (and I hope you do), it seems to me that the Park Service could proceed administratively. But they have been very unresponsive to my requests. I suspect they'd listen better to you!

Thank you for any help you can provide.

Sincerely,

Pete Stark

Pete Stark
Member of Congress

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FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK,
9TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEES:
WAYS AND MEANS
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
SELECT NARCOTICS

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK
BEFORE
THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS AND FORESTS
COMMITTEE ON ENERGY & NATURAL RESOURCES
UNITED STATES SENATE

PLEA FOR CORRECTION OF MISSPELLED NAMES ON THE VIETNAM MEMORIAL

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee:

There are approximately fifty names on the Vietnam Memorial wall which are misspelled. For the families which have seen these errors, it has been another heartbreak: their government didn't even care enough to get the name correct--the sacrifice is not remembered, it is distorted.

Before we do anything else with respect to the Memorial, I hope your Subcommittee can find a way, either legislatively or administratively, to correct this final Record.

The incredible pain that this kind of error causes is movingly reflected in a letter from one of my constituents, and I ask that her letter be included in the hearing record. The constituent, Patricia Bell Mitchell, has also suggested an errata panel, to be placed in the wall unobtrusively. If and when a way is found to correct the erroneous engravings, then that panel can be removed and replaced with unengraved stone. This seems like a most sensible and civilized thing to do, but the Park Service says it can't be done.

I think we care enough about the memory of these fifty servicepersons to make sure that this final, timeless memorial is correctly done.

I ask your help, either as part of the bill you are considering, or through your Oversight work with the Park Service.

THIS STATIONERY PRINTED ON PAPER MADE WITH RECYCLED FIBERS